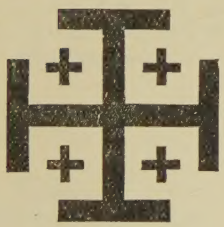
PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND.

Patron—THE KING.

Quarterly Statement

FOR 1916.



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INDEX TO NAMES OF AUTHORS AND TITLES OF CONTRIBUTIONS.

PAGE

Airy, W.—
Miscellaneous Ancient Weights in the Fund's Museum 149

Baldensperger, Philip J.—
The Immovable East (*continued*) 19, 71, 165

Blyth, Estelle—
Lord Kitchener's Work in Palestine 178

Cobern, Prof. Camden M.—
Dr. H. Clay Trumbull and Kadesh-Barnea 97

Cook, Stanley A., M.A.—
Reviews and Notices of Publications 47, 151, 201
Notes and Queries 100

Crace, J. D., F.S.A.—
Col. Sir Charles Watson, K.C.M.G., C.B., M.A. 60
Lord Kitchener, K.G., G.C.B., O.M., G.C.M.G., R.E. 122
Reviews and Notices of Publications 44

Dickie, Prof. A. C., M.A., F.S.A.—
The Jews as Builders 26

Hull, Prof. Edward, LL.D., F.R.S.—
Lord Kitchener and Palestine Exploration 123

Macalister, Prof. R. A. S., M.A., F.S.A.—
Occasional Papers on the Modern Inhabitants of Palestine
11, 64, 126, 173

Masterman, Dr. E. W. G.—
Occasional Papers on the Modern Inhabitants of Palestine
11, 64, 126, 173

Newton, F. G.—
Notes on Damascus 33

PAGE.

Offord, Joseph—

Babylonian and Hebrew Theophoric Names 85
The Writing on the Wall at Belshazzar's Banquet 196
Archaeological Notes... ... ... 38, 85, 138, 191

Pilcher, E. J.—

Hebrew Weights in the Book of Samuel 77
Notes and Queries 153

Read, F. W.—

Shishak I and Palestine History 211

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.

PAGE.

Notes on Damascus—

Plan of Gate North of North Gate of Enclosure Wall 34
Ruins at the House of Ananias, Damascus 37

Colonel Sir Charles Moore Watson, K.C.M.G., C.B., M.A., R.E. *facing* 60

Lieut. H. H. Kitchener, R.E. (about 1876)... ... ... „ 122

GENERAL INDEX.

Abel and the Cuneiform *Ibila*, 138.
Adam in Babylonian Literature, 203.
Airy, Mr. W., Presentation to the Library, 58.
Ananias, House of, 35.
Annual, 1914–15, 4, 54.
„ General Meeting, 105, 118.
Archaeology of the Bible, 156.
„ Principles of, 209.
Architecture, 26, 45, 206.
Astronomy, Hebrew, 146, 153.

Baal, Temple of, at Palmyra, 206.
Babylonian Contract-Tablets, 97.
„ Theophoric Names, 85.
Baldensperger, Mr. P. J., 156.
Barton, Prof., 156.
Bedouin and Fellahīn—
Clothes and Fashions, 19.
Tales, 11, 64, 126, 173.
Toilet, 71.
Belshazzar, 95, 147, 196.
Birch, Rev. W. F., 106.
Blyth, Miss E., 106, 120, 156.
Bonaparte in Palestine, 155.

Capernaum, Site of, 194.
Caphtōrim, Legends of, 205.
Chairman, Death of the, 51.
„ Appointment of Dr. L. W. King, 106.
Conder, Col., and Lord Kitchener, 179.
Crace, Mr. J. D., 105.
Cretan Snake-goddess, 207.

Damascus, Archaeological Notes, 33.
Desert of the Wanderings, 4.
Dhorme, Father, 47, 48, 110.
Dress of Palestinian Natives, 19.

Egyptian Eastern Frontier, 100.
„ Magical Ideas, 204.
„ Stele of Menepthah, 42.
Excavation of Palestine, 26, 47.

Fall, Sumerian Account of, 201.
"Fifty Years' Work in the Holy Land," new edition, 2, 53.
Folk-lore, *see* Legends, Pygmies.

Gardiner, Dr. A. H., Presentation to the Library, 9.
Gillman, The Hon. H., 3.
Goddard, Rev. C. V., Presentation to the Library, 164.
"Golgotha and the Holy Sepulchre," 7.
Gozal and the Babylonian *Guzalû*, 139.

Habiri, The, 140.
Hadrian's Jewish War, 38.

Immovable East, The, 19, 71, 165.
Index to the *Q.S.*, 6.
Inscriptions—
Aramaic, 40, 44, 97.
Greek, 154.
Hebrew (Papyri), 44.
Latin, 38, 145, 193.

Jerusalem, Description of, 156, 165.
„ War Conditions in, 107, 108, 109.
Jewish Incantation-bowl, 191.
„ Legends of Pygmies, 204.
Jews as Builders, 26.

Kadesh-barnea, Discovery of, 97.
King, Dr. L. W., appointed Chairman, 106.

"King of Kings," The Title, 194.
Kitchener, Lord, Death of, 103, 118, 121, 122, 123.
„ Work in Palestine, 178.

Lawrence, Mr. T. E., 4.
Legends of Pygmies, 204.
„ Sheikhs, Welys, etc., 11, 64, 126, 173.
Library of the Fund—
Books presented, 8, 57, 100, 115, 161, 163.
„ wanted, 4, 9, 54, 58, 116, 164.
Duplicates for sale, 5, 55, 169.
Presentation from Lady Watson, 155, 162.

Macalister, Prof. R. A. S., Presentation to the Library, 9.
Maps of Palestine—
By Sir G. A. Smith, 52.
New Edition, 56.
Sale stopped for Military Reasons, 1.
Marissa, Tombs of, 31.
Michie, Mr. A. S., Presentation to the Library, 164.
Modern Inhabitants of Palestine, The, 11, 64, 126, 173.
Mycenaean Art, 208.

Name Zakarbaal, The, 192.
Names and Places in the Bible, 7.
„ on Samaritan Ostraka, 151.
„ Theophoric, 85.
Naville, Dr. E., 3.
Nod, Land of, 203.

Obituary—
Rev. W. F. Birch, 106.
Hon. Henry Gillman, 3.
Lord Kitchener, 103, 122.
Col. Sir Charles Watson, 51.
Ovenden, Mr. G. J. H., 3, 106, 120.

Palestine and the War, 52, 107, 110, 155.
„ Excavations, 26, 47.
„ Maps, 52, 56.
P.E.F., Annual Meeting, 105, 118.
„ Death of Chairman, 51.
„ Appointment of New Chairman, 106.
„ and the War, 1.
Palmyra, Temple of Baal, 206.
Paton, Prof., 3.
Peters, Rev. J. P., Presentation to the Library, 9.
Plague in the Old Testament, 141.
Pottery, Geometrical Patterns, 207, 208.
Princeton University Archaeological Expedition, 44.
Pygmies, Legends of, 204.

Religious Antiquities, 49.
Reviews, 44, 151, 201.
Roman Inscriptions at Gerash, 38.
„ Jewish Inscriptions, 144.
„ Remains at Damascus, 33.

Samarian Ostraka, 151.
1 Samuel xiii, 19–22, 77.
Scott, Mrs. Ross, Presentations to the Library, 9, 163.
Sheikh Abu Midiān, 174.
„ 'Ali Bukā, 176.
„ Burhān ed-Dīn, 175.
„ Hūbāny, 131.
„ Merzūk, 129.
„ Munjid, 130.
„ Sālah, 134.
„ Shehādy, 136.
Sheol, 143.
Shishak, 211.
Smith, Prof. Sir G. A., Atlas of Palestine, 52.
Snake-goddess, Cretan, 207.
Succoth, 43.
Suez, Gulf of, 101.
Sultan Bādr, 11, 16, 64, 126.
Sumerian Epic of Paradise, etc., 201.

Tales of Welys and Dervishes, 11, 64, 126, 173.
Taxila, Aramaic Inscription, 40.
Temple of Jerusalem, 30.

Tod, Mr. M., 4.
Transliteration of Hebrew and Arabic Consonants, Table of, 50, 212.
Trumbull, Dr., and Kadesh-Barnea, 97.

Walker, Mr. C. C., Presentation to the Library, 58.
Wanderings, Desert of the, 1, 4.
War, The, and P.E.F., 1.
„ and Palestine, 52, 107, 110, 155.
Watson, Col. Sir C. M.—
New Edition of "Fifty Years' Work in the Holy Land," 2, 53, 111.
Watson, Col. Sir C. M.—
Death of, 51, 60.
Presentation of his books, etc. by Lady Watson, 155, 162.
Weights, Hebrew, 77.
„ „ in the P.E.F. Museum, 149.
„ „ 'karsha,' 192.
Wilson, Major-Gen. Sir Charles, "Golgotha and the Holy Sepulchre," 7.
Writing on the Wall, 196.

Zakabaal, 192.
Zionist Movement, 109.

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THE

PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND.

NOTES AND NEWS.

It will have been obvious to our subscribers during the past year that, Palestine being for the time an enemy country, Exploration of any kind has been out of the question. At the same time we have been requested by the War Office to suspend the issue or sale of our maps, especially of our new and revised edition of the general map, which was quite ready, and the new survey of the South Country, the Desert of the Wanderings, which was only just completed when war broke out. As this last is the first authentic map of that district, and one in which all wells and cisterns are marked, it was obviously undesirable to make it accessible to an enemy who must make that country the base of an attack upon Egypt. Seeing how largely we are indebted to the War Office for allowing us to make use of the Officers of the Royal Engineers for all our Surveys, from the beginning, and what able service they have rendered, this Society must recognize how doubly strong is the obligation to abstain from any act which might assist the enemy, and will cheerfully accept a position which naturally entails some inconvenience and considerable loss. In the meantime we may feel sure that after the war is finished and peace concluded we shall be able to carry on our work with greater facilities; and it is hoped that this pause will enable the Society to accumulate funds sufficient to undertake some of those more important examinations of ancient sites for which our means have not hitherto been equal. The Committee are fully alive to the claims and historical importance of several such sites, and will be ready when the time comes to set to work and, it may be hoped, without the

long official delays which have, in so many cases, wasted time and money.

There are still many subjects of interest for discussion in the *Quarterly Statement*—Biblical, historical or archaeological; and the Committee trust that in reading or contributing to these the subscribers will find, in the coming year, matter to compensate them for a temporary exercise of the patience which the war has made inevitable.

Fifty Years' Work in the Holy Land: A Record and a Summary, 1865–1915.—Under this title Colonel Sir C. M. Watson, K.C.M.G., etc., gives an entirely new revision of that *résumé* of the work of the Fund which has been issued from time to time in order to furnish readers, and—especially—new subscribers with a synoptical account of the more important aims and achievements. Such accounts have been published in 1870, 1872, 1886, and 1895, so that twenty years have passed since the last revision—years during which most valuable excavations have been undertaken, notably at Gezer. Last year being the Jubilee of the Palestine Exploration Fund, a new edition was especially appropriate, and old subscribers as well as new will find that the book by the Chairman of the Executive Committee gives an admirable bird's-eye view of the work of the Fund. Although space allows the book to provide only the bare outlines of what has been done, the material is so arranged as to include all information necessary to explain the different expeditions and excavations. A map is also appended containing all the important names and sites. Chapters are written on the reason why the P.E.F. was established; the foundation of the Society in 1865; the preliminary reconnaissance of Palestine, 1865–6; the explorations at Jerusalem, 1867–70; the expedition to the Desert of the Exodus, 1869–70; the survey of Western Palestine in 1871–7; the survey of Eastern Palestine in 1881–2; the geological expedition and survey of the Arabah in 1883–4; the excavations at Lachish, Jerusalem, etc. (five chapters), the survey of Southern Palestine in 1913–14; the Palestine Pilgrims' Texts, and a concluding chapter on the administration of the Society. There are two appendices: the chronology of the P.E.F., and the chronology of the publications. The book is published by the Committee of the Fund, and can be had on application to the Assistant Secretary, post free 3*s.* 6*d.*

The Schweich Lectures on Biblical Archaeology, under the aegis of the British Academy, were this year given by Dr. Edouard Naville on December 9th, 14th and 16th. The professor chose as his subject "The Text of the Old Testament." The first lecture was devoted to some examination of the conflict between the "Higher Criticism" of the Old Testament and the traditional view. In the second, he dealt with "Babylonian Cuneiform and the Canaanite Script," and argued, amongst other things, that the books of the Pentateuch have passed through two changes in language and script. "They were first written in cuneiform, and this fact upsets the critical system." The concluding lecture, "Aramaic and Hebrew" urged that the Hebrew prophets wrote in Aramaic, that the Law of Moses was turned into Aramaic by Ezra—"Ezra, who revived the Mosaic Law, may be considered the second legislator." It may, perhaps, be worth pointing out that the theories of the "Higher Criticism" of the day are attempts to explain a great many very intricate data, and these data demand *some* explanation, whether the theories be good or bad. Now, if these intricacies were also extant in the alleged cuneiform or other originals, the problems still remain to be solved; and if they were *not*, then the problems become still more complex, and we have to ask whether the existing texts and versions in any way correspond to the cuneiform original which is postulated.

Mr. G. J. H. Ovenden, who has for the last two years acted as Chief Clerk in the office of the Fund, is now appointed *Assistant Secretary*.

The Rev. Prof. Lewis B. Paton, our Honorary General Secretary for the United States, informs us of the death, on July 30th last, of the Hon. Henry Gillman of Detroit, "a gentleman and scholar who for many years had been a member of the Palestine Exploration Fund, and for which he had for a long period acted as representative for the State of Michigan." He was American Consul in Jerusalem during the years 1886–91. There he distinguished himself by his emphatic stand against the Turkish Government's attempted measures of expulsion of the Jewish population of the Holy Land, and he succeeded by enlisting the support of several of the European Powers in thwarting the intended action. Mr. Gillman was a scholar by instinct and environment, and made significant researches in

archaeology and botany. He rendered pioneer service in procuring and publishing facsimilies of early Christian texts, and wrote many scientific and miscellaneous pamphlets. He was the author of *The Wild Flowers and Gardens of Jerusalem and Palestine; Hassan, a Fellah—a Romance of Palestine;* and other books. Mr. Gillman was a Fellow of the American Association for the Advance of Science, a member of the British Association, of the American Oriental Society, and of many local literary and scientific organizations. Prof. Paton remarks that, on a recent visit to the Holy Land, he found among the older residents a vivid and sympathetic recollection of Mr. Gillman as a modest and kind-hearted gentleman with a high sense of devotion to duty and a warm and genuine enthusiasm for scholarship and the things that make for culture. It may be added that Mr. Gillman was born in Kinsale, Ireland, November 16th, 1833, and that among his ancestors was Adam Winthrop, Lord of the Manor of Groton, Suffolk, who was the father of Governor Winthrop of Massachusetts.

In drawing attention to the books needed for the Library of the Fund, we may mention especially Lagarde's *Onomastica Sacra* (2nd ed., 1887), and the *Antonine Itinerary*. An edition of the latter by Parthey and Pindar was published at Berlin in 1847, see below, p. 10.

The New Survey: Double Annual for 1914–15.—The material resulting from the Survey of the Southern Country ("The Desert of the Wanderings") in the early part of 1914 proved to be more voluminous and more complete than could have been anticipated, seeing how short a time was available, owing to climate and other considerations. The whole Survey party must have worked with an energy and industry exceeding that of any previous expedition, notwithstanding the unusual difficulties which beset them from the nature of the country. The notes and descriptions of the various localities included are full and careful, and Messrs. Woolley and Lawrence are to be congratulated on having made them vivid and interesting, and on having secured so many and characteristic photographic illustrations as well as plans. The few inscriptions collected have been examined and carefully analysed by Mr. Marcus Tod, of Oxford. They are all personal memorials but afford some exact dates.

Altogether the amount of material largely exceeds what should suffice for a double volume of the *Annual*—*i.e.*, for two years. But, on careful consideration, the Committee thought that the reasons for publishing the whole together and without undue delay were so strong that they felt compelled to disregard the strictly economical question, so far as subscribers are concerned, and to publish the whole as a double *Annual* for the years 1914–15.

The reasons for this course were:—

1. That the region is one which so greatly interests all Bible students.
2. That it has never previously been surveyed or systematically examined.
3. That it may never again be so thoroughly examined and reported on.
4. That the disturbed condition of all Europe makes it improbable that any work of excavation can be undertaken for the present.

The price of the book to the public outside the Society is 45*s*.

An account of the *Annual* will be found in the April issue of the *Q.S.*, 1915, pp. 61–63.

The Committee are bringing out a new edition of the ($\frac{3}{8}$ in. to the mile) Map of Western Palestine, of which the original edition has been for some time out of print. It is in six sheets, and will be, primarily, a travellers' map. The roads and railways constructed since the original survey have been added. For the sake of clearness, only the modern names are given. The hill shading is in a lighter tint for the same reason. All the country beyond that actually surveyed is shown in outline only. In a few years it may be possible to add much of this in a further edition. In the meantime, this is the clearest map and the easiest to consult of any yet issued by the Society. The price of the complete six sheets will be 7*s*. 6*d*. If desired, the map can be mounted on linen and a roller, or to fold. It will be ready for issue when the war permits.

The Library of the Palestine Exploration Fund contains many duplicate volumes, including standard works by Robinson, Ritter, Stanley and others. They may be had separately, and a list, with the price of each volume, has been prepared, and can be obtained on application.

The Index to the *Quarterly Statements* previously published included the years from 1869 to 1892, and the need for its continuation to a more recent date has been greatly felt. Some of the most important of the discoveries and work of the Palestine Exploration Fund belong to later years. Such are the excavations of sites on and around Ophel, by Messrs. Bliss and Dickie, in the Shephelah, by Messrs. Bliss and Macalister, and the great work at Gezer, by Prof. Stewart Macalister, besides many valuable papers and discussions on the sites in Jerusalem and elsewhere. During the year 1911, the Committee decided to supplement the old Index by one which should include the completion of the work at Gezer, that is to say, from 1893 to 1910. The laborious task was undertaken by Mr. (now Prof.) Dickie, whose familiarity with the matter dealt with, and conscientious exactitude, have now enabled the Committee to publish it with confidence. Price in cloth, 5*s.*; unbound, 3*s.* 6*d.*

The Committee will be glad to communicate with ladies and gentlemen willing to help the Fund as Honorary Secretaries.

Plaster casts of the raised contour maps (large and small) of Jerusalem have been prepared and can now be had on application. The horizontal scale of the large map is $\frac{1}{2500}$ and the total dimensions are 5 feet by 4 feet 3 inches. The remains of the city walls and streets discovered on the Eastern and Western Hills are indicated in red lines. This map will be a most valuable help to the study of Jerusalem topography. Price £3 3*s.* Case and packing extra. The scale of the smaller map is $\frac{1}{10000}$ and the size 20 inches square. Price without addition of early walls and streets £1 5*s.*

A new and improved edition of the large photo relief map of Palestine (5 miles = 1 inch) is now ready. Price 6*s.* 9*d.* unmounted. Mounted on cloth, roller, and varnished, 10*s.* 6*d.* Size, mounted, 30 inches by 52 inches.

It may be well to mention that plans and photographs alluded to in the reports from Jerusalem and elsewhere cannot all be published, but they are preserved in the office of the Fund, where they may be seen by subscribers.

Subscribers who have not yet paid will greatly facilitate the Committee's efforts by sending in their subscriptions without further delay, and thus save the expense of sending out reminders.

Subscribers to the Fund are reminded that, whilst the receipt of every subscription and contribution is promptly acknowledged by the Assistant Secretary, they are now published annually. A complete List of Subscribers and Subscriptions for 1915 will be given in the Annual Report to be published with the April number.

Golgotha and the Holy Sepulchre, the last work of the late Major-General Sir Charles Wilson, K.C.B., K.C.M.G., F.R.S., D.C.L., LL.D., etc. In this work the late Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Palestine Exploration Fund has brought together for the first time all the evidence which the most exhaustive research enabled him to collect bearing on the subject of these Holy Sites; and probably no man living had at once so intimate a knowledge of all investigations in the modern Jerusalem and so complete an acquaintance with what has been written about the Sites from the time of Constantine onwards. The price of the work (demy 8vo) is 6*s.*, by post 6*s.* 4*d.*

A reprint of *Names and Places in the Old and New Testaments*, by the late Mr. George Armstrong, is now on sale, price 6*s.* The book was out of print for some years.

A complete set of the *Quarterly Statements*, 1869-1910, containing some of the early letters (now scarce), with an Index, 1869-1910, bound in the Palestine Exploration Fund cases, can be had. Price on application to the Secretary, 2, Hinde Street, Manchester Square, W.

The price of a complete set of the translations published by the Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society, in 13 volumes, with general index, bound in cloth, is £10 10*s.* A catalogue describing the contents of each volume can be had on application to the Secretary, 2, Hinde Street, Manchester Square, W.

Photographs of the late Dr. Schick's models (1) of the Temple of Solomon, (2) of the Herodian Temple, (3) of the Haram Area and Justinian's Church, and (4) of the Haram Area as it is at present, have been received at the office of the Fund. The four photographs, with an explanation by Dr. Schick, can be purchased by applying to the Secretary, 2, Hinde Street, Manchester Square, W.

The Museum at the office of the Fund, 2, Hinde Street, Manchester Square, W., is open to visitors every week-day from 10 o'clock till 5, except Saturdays, when it is closed at 1 p.m.

Subscribers in U.S.A. to the work of the Fund will please note that they can procure copies of any of the publications from the Rev. Prof. Lewis B. Paton, Ph.D., Honorary General Secretary to the Fund, 50, Forest Street, Hartford, Conn.

The Committee have to acknowledge with thanks, among other journals and books, the following :—

The Society of Biblical Archaeology, Vol. XXXVII, No. 6 : Another Jewish-Aramaic Papyrus from Egypt, by Dr. A. Cowley.

The Expository Times, November, 1915 : The Hebrew Names on the Ostraka discovered in Samaria, by the Rev. Prof. G. B. Gray ; the Garden of Eden and the Fall of Man according to the Sumerians, by Prof. Sayce. December Number : The New Atlas of the Holy Land (Prof. G. A. Smith), reviewed by the Rev. W. Cruikshank ; the Archaeology of the Book of Genesis (*continued*), by Prof. Sayce.

The Annual of the British School at Athens, 1913–14.

Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute, January–June, 1915.

University of Pennsylvania : Publications of the Babylonian Section, Vol. VII, Babylonian Letters of the Ḫammurapi Period, by Dr. Arthur Ungnad ; Vol. X, No. 1, The Sumerian Epic of Paradise, the Flood, and the Fall of Man, by Dr. Stephen Langdon.

American Journal of Archaeology, July–September, 1915 : The Dating of the Great Temple of Ba'al at Palmyra, by S. B. Murray, Jr.

The Biblical World, September, 1915 : Aeschylus and the Eighth-century Prophets, by Prof. H. T. Fowler ; Archaeology and the Book of Genesis, by Prof. L. B. Paton.

The Homiletic Review, October, 1915.

The Jewish Quarterly Review, October, 1915.

Smithsonian Institution, Report for the Year ending June 30th, 1914.

Art and Archaeology, Vol. II, Parts 2 and 3.

Revue Biblique, see below, p. 47.

Di Tribune, No. 4, A Yiddish Zionist Fortnightly, published at Copenhagen.

See further below, p. 44.

The Committee will be glad to receive donations of Books to the Library of the Fund, which already contains many works of great value relating to Palestine and other Bible lands.

The Committee desire to acknowledge with thanks the following contributions to the Library:—

From Mrs. Ross Scott:—

Travels in Egypt. By Count de Forbin. 1819.

Travels in the Oasis of Thebes in the Years 1815, 16, 17 and 18. By M. Frederic Cailliaud. 1822.

The Nilometer and the Sacred Soil: A Diary of a Tour through Egypt and Syria. By Miss Kate Kraft.

The Horses of the Sun. By James Crowther.

From Dr. Alan H. Gardiner:—

Die Ostgrenze Ägyptens. By C. Kütchmann (1911).

From the Author, the Rev. J. P. Peters, the following reprints:—

The Religion of Moses.

The Bible as History.

The Palace of Nippur.

Notes on some Ritual Uses of the Psalms (*Journal of Biblical Literature*, 1910).

The Wind of God (*ib.*, 1911).

„ „ (*ib.*, 1914).

The Sons of Korah.

The Two Great Nature Shrines of Israel: Bethel and Dan.

The Cock (*Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 1913).

„ (*Journal of Biblical Literature*, 1914).

Excavations in Persia (*Harvard Theolog. Review*, 1915).

From Prof. R. A. S. Macalister:—

The French Expedition into Syria, 1799. Comprising General Bonaparte's Letters, General Berthier's Narrative, and Sir W. Sidney Smith's Letters. Published, 1799.

The Committee will be grateful to any subscribers who may be disposed to present to the Library any of the following books:—

Duc de Luynes, *Voyage à la Mer Morte* (1864); published about 1874.

K. von Raumer, *Der Zug der Israeliten.* (Leipzig, 1837.)

L. de Laborde, *Voyage de l'Arabie Pétrée* (1829).

Lagarde, *Onomastica Sacra* (1887).

The Antonine Itinerary—an edition by Parthey and Pindar was published in 1847 at Berlin. An edition in Russian is also extant, but is therefore not available save to the few who know that language.

For list of authorized lecturers and their subjects, see end of the Journal, or write to the Secretary.

Whilst desiring to give publicity to proposed identifications and other theories advanced by officers of the Fund and contributors to the pages of the *Quarterly Statement*, the Committee wish it to be distinctly understood that by publishing them in the *Quarterly Statement* they do not necessarily sanction or adopt them.

FORM OF BEQUEST TO THE PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND.

I give to the Palestine Exploration Fund, London, the sum of to be applied towards the General Work of the Fund; and I direct that the said sum be paid, free of Legacy Duty, and that the Receipt of the Treasurer of the Palestine Exploration Fund shall be a sufficient discharge for the same.

NOTE.—*Three Witnesses are necessary to a Will by the Law of the United States of America, and Two by the Law of the United Kingdom.*

OCCASIONAL PAPERS ON THE MODERN INHABITANTS OF PALESTINE.

By Dr. E. W. G. Masterman and Prof. R. A. S. Macalister.

Tales of Welys and Dervishes.

(*Continued from Q.S.*, 1915, *p.* 179.)

IV.—*Sultān Badr of Deir esh-Sheikh.*

Deir esh-Sheikh is a small mountain village on the right of the railway line from Jaffa to Jerusalem and about half-way between the railway stations of Deir Abān and Bittīr. It is famous for its makām dedicated to Sultān Badr. The veneration in which this saint is held is illustrated by the following tales:—

(*a*) *The History of Sultān Badr.*

Sultān Badr is said to have been born in the Hijāz, but later went to Persia, where he became king and reigned seven years. One night, as he slept, the Spirit from Allah appeared to him and said: "Rise up, O Badr! and leave thy throne and thy kingdom and become a dervish for the love of God. I have brought thee here for many purposes." Immediately, he left his kingdom, and, from the love of God, set forth upon his wanderings, together with him his nakīb (administrator), Sheikh Ahmed el-'Ajameh, and his servant, Sheikh Marzūk, and at length they arrived in Jerusalem. He found this city besieged by King edh-Dhaher and Sheikh abu Midiān, a Mughrabī, and he joined these men. But Sheikh Badr found the place very narrow, and so he took quarters for himself in the country at a place called Karafāt, now called Sharafāt. He used to come daily to Jerusalem to fight against the infidels, and returned and slept at night at Sharafāt. After Jerusalem was captured, everyone came to Sultān Badr regarding the division of the spoil, and they awarded to the Sultān Badr forty shops in Jerusalem as his *wakf*. After this the sultān, as he was travelling

from Jerusalem to Hebron, passed a spring near Rās abu 'Ammar, called 'Ain el-Wahsh, so-called after a wely named el-Wahsh ("wild beast"). When the sultān reached the stream he took off his clothes and began to wash them, because they had long been in a dirty state. In doing this the water above and below became defiled. At this moment six girls, daughters of the wely el-Wahsh, came to the source to draw water, and found the water defiled from this reason. The eldest girl, whose name was Khadījah cried out in indignation: "Oh, thou man! thou art spoiling the spring. How can we fill our jars now?" and, seizing a stone, she threw it at Sultān Badr and wounded him in the head. When he felt the stone and saw the blood running down, he reviled the girl and carried off his clothes, still wet, to a place called Deir esh-Sheikh (there he found a convent for the Christians—most of the people then were living in caves). At a little distance from the village he found a fountain of water before which stood a kharrūb (carob) tree, which everybody knew had been withered for a long time. Upon this the sultān hung up his clothes to dry and laid down to sleep in their shadow.

Meanwhile el-Wahsh had returned and found his daughters at the spring and, seeing the blood, asked them: "What has happened to you, and whence is this blood?" They told their father that when they had come to fill their jars, they found a man at the spring washing his clothes and defiling the water, and that Khadījah, after abusing him, had thrown a stone at him and wounded him, whereupon the man had reviled Khadījah and gone off with his wet clothes. Then el-Wahsh knew that the man was Sultān Badr, because a spirit had appeared to him and told him that he should that day encounter Sultān Badr. Then el-Wahsh began scolding and abusing his daughters, and enquired which way the sultān had gone. They told him he had gone to Deir esh-Sheikh, and so he went in that direction, making enquiries as he went. At length he reached the cave in which the fountain rose, and there lay the sultān, sleeping below the kharrūb tree on which hung his clothes; and the kharrūb, which he knew had been withered, was covered with green branches. And he approached the sultān and began to kiss his hands and feet and to entreat him for pardon, saying that his daughters were ignorant girls, and had not known him and had made a great mistake about him. "I entreat you," he said, "for your honour's sake and for the sake of your blood and flesh (*i.e.*, relations) to forgive them this crime." And when the

sultān heard the words of el-Wahsh he said: "I will forgive neither you nor your daughters unless you give me as wife the girl who hit me with the stone (وانزل دمها مثل ما نزلت دمي)." el-Wahsh replied: "I present her to you as your slave." And when the people of the city saw that the withered tree had become green, and heard that the dervish el-Wahsh had given him his daughter, many of them believed in him. All the people of the village before were infidels (Christians).

And Sultān Bahr returned back to the village and lived in a cave called *el-Ghār*, and he had with him as nakīb (manager) Ahmed el-'Ajameh, and as servant Marzūk. But the Sheikh el-'Ajameh left him and went to Beit Mahsīr. And the sultān married Khadījah, the daughter of el-Wahsh, and lived in Deir esh-Sheikh. And there he had five boys and two girls, and they were the Sheikh Munjid, and the Sheikh Ismāī'n, and the Sheikh Muthkur, and the Sheikh Yusuf, and Abu Fātmeh. And the names of his daughters were our lady Badrīyeh and our lady Ahmadīyeh.

One day, when the sultān was sitting on a mountain top near Bīr es-Saleb, he saw there were soldiers in the valley in number like the sand of the sea, and he knew at once that these were the soldiers of King Dhaher; and he descended from the mountain and invited the king and his soldiers to come and rest and drink coffee, and the king accepted the invitation. While they drank their coffee, the sultān observed that the soldiers were very tired, and remarked: "I ask you kindly to be my guests, you and your soldiers, and pass the night here." The king thought that there would not be provisions enough for the soldiers and their horses, and that it would be better to go to a place with food and water sufficient for them all. The sultān knew what he was thinking, and said to the king: "Fear God, and everything will be to hand for you and for your soldiers." Then the king wondered at the sheikh, and instructed his soldiers to ask their host for water for the horses, after which he proposed to go, thinking it was impossible that the sheikh could have food enough for all. Immediately the soldiers said: "We beg you kindly to give us water for the horses because they are suffering from thirst." Then the Sultān said to Marzūk, "Take this jug (ibrīk) and go with the soldiers to water the horses and climb with them to the summit of the mountain. When the soldiers are weary because ye have not enough water, exclaim

'O Sultān Badr.'" And the servant went as his master told him, and arrived with the soldiers at the summit, and they began to show impatience towards him saying: "We are very tired, and the horses are suffering from thirst and there is no water here. Where are you leading us?" And he cried out "O my lord Sultān Badr, come quickly to me." At the same moment Sultān Badr appeared and said to Sheikh Marzūk: "Stay where you are till I reach you." On his arrival in their midst he said to his servant: "Stand on this rock and throw the jug in your hand with all your might." And Sheikh Marzūk did this, and as he threw it the jug broke into six pieces, and at each place where a fragment fell there burst up a spring of water. And these are the names of the six springs: 'Ain el-Ḥobīn, 'Ain eṭ-Ṭuff, 'Ain el-Ḥaiyāt, 'Ain el-Ḳubaibeh, 'Ain el-Jōzeh, and 'Ain Wādy el-Amrār. And the water descended into the valley. And all the company on the top of the mountain and those in the valley below began to drink. And when they returned to the king and narrated what had occurred he was astonished at the piety of the sheikh. Then they asked the sheikh to give them barley for the horses. The sultān brought a ṣaa' (half a ṭubbeh) of barley and spread his 'abā (cloak) and poured into it the barley, and told the soldiers to help themselves. When the soldiers saw that all the barley which he had provided was not enough for a single horse they began hastily to help themselves, each one filling a nosebag for his horse in turn. But, at last, not one soldier remained without barley, and there was left over at the end as much as there had been at first. When the horses were fed the soldiers waited for their food. The sultān then led forward a kid and produced a roṭl of rice, and when the food was prepared he began to distribute the meat and the rice among them until all were satisfied; and the food proved to be enough, not only for them, but also for the people of the village. In the morning Sultān Badr asked the king where he was going with his army. The king replied that he was going to Ascalon to capture it, but that before going he would like to kill the people of this country, because they did not believe in Allah nor in His Prophet. The sultān replied: "This country is obedient to me without war." Then the king asked: What is your opinion about Ascalon? because I like to have your opinion and I believe in you." The sultān replied: "Ascalon is a strong city and the people in it are giants; it will be impossible for you to capture it unless you plant a fig tree and eat of its fruit.

After that you will be able to take Ascalon. But after you have taken Ascalon, and you return this way, you will find that I have been dead three days. You must then build a makām to me." The king then bade farewell and left with his soldiers.

On the road the king ceased not to command the people to worship only Allah and to believe in His Prophet. When he reached Ascalon he at once attacked it, but, though he fought against it for three years, he was unable to take it. At length, in perplexity, he called a council of his generals to consult with them about this great delay, and one of them said: "O my lord, you forget the advice of the sheikh, whose guest we were on our road, and who showed us great wonders; he directed us to plant a fig tree." The king exclaimed, "This is true," and immediately he brought a branch of a fig tree and planted it in the ground, and gave orders to his soldiers to cease from fighting till the tree bore fruit. And on the second day the tree produced branches, and daily the king made his devotions on the ground around the tree. After three days the fig tree bore fruit and the king plucked the fruit and ate it. Then he said to his soldiers: "Now we shall capture Ascalon," and he led them to the assault. Among the soldiers was one from Dūra el-Khalīl who, while on the road, had found the bone from the leg of a camel, and he took this in his hand, and when entrance was made through the walls of the city, he slew many of the inhabitants with the camel's leg, and with it, too, pulled down buildings and walls. And they called him Abū 'Arḳūb, because with the leg ('arḳūb) of a camel he pulled down the city. And he is now a wely in Durā el-Khalīl. When the army had taken the city and reduced it to order the king set out on his return. He arrived on his road at a place called Wādy Būlus and stayed the night there, and the next morning he commanded his soldiers to go on to Wādy Bāb el-Wād, and he did not remember that the sultan had told him that when he returned he would pass by him. But when the soldiers took the way to the Bāb el-Wād, bees appeared in vast numbers, so that they could not take that road nor find any other way. These bees came out of a cistern of water which is, to this day, called Bi'r el-Naḥl ("cistern of the bees"). And the bees stopped the soldiers from following that route and compelled them to go by the Wādy Isma'in, a way they had not thought of taking. And when they came close to Deir Eyyūb, near the trees, they again were unable to proceed farther on account of the bees. And so the

king halted and asked his officers why it was that the bees followed them wherever they went. Had any of them gone out of God's way, that the bees would not allow them to pass on their road? One of the soldiers said: "O lord, you promised the Sultān Badr, that, after you had taken Ascalon, you would on your return, pass by him, I think this is the reason." Then the king ordered his soldiers to return by the road of Eshua'. And when they left the trees the bees remained in the trees, and to this day they are known as *Sejarāt ez-Zākarāt*, "The trees of remembrances" (سجرات الزاكرات), for they reminded the king to return by the way of Sultān Badr.

And when the king arrived at Deir esh-Sheikh he found that Sultān Badr had died three days before, as he had told him. And he began to build a makām. And he built it one day and on the next morning he found all he had built pulled down, and this happened daily till the Friday. And the king rose up in the morning and prayed and called upon the Lord and said: "O Lord, direct me how I shall build the makām." And the next morning he rose and found a paper with directions on it how he was to build the makām, and the place of prayer, and the place for cooking, and the place for the women, and how everything was to be made. Also, how he was to bring karamīd (tiles) from Egypt for the dome. And the king did all that has been mentioned, and now it is a wakīl for the descendants of Sultān Badr.

(*b*) *Another Story about Sultān Badr.*

It has been already mentioned here that when Sultān Badr was fighting against Jerusalem he used to sleep at Sharafāt, which was then called Karafāt (the opposite of Sharafāt, which means "noble"). Karafāt was so called because there was in it a monastery belonging to the Christians, in which wine was made. When the sultan came to the place he used to be always annoyed at the making of wine, and he asked Allah that this should be put an end to. In answer to his prayer the wine became spoilt and never came to any good. And this happened for many years, until at length the monks became very angry and accepted his offer to buy the monastery and its environs. And when he had bought the place he sent away the monks and made the place a *wakf* (religious endowment) for his descendants. He afterwards moved to Deir esh-Sheikh, but he gave his daughter Badrīyeh in marriage to Sheikh Ahmed et-Tubbār, and

she continued to live at Sharafāt, which received its noble name because of the sultan and herself residing there. And now in this village are the maḳām of Sittna (our lady) Badrıyeh, the makām of her husband Aḥmed et-Tubbār, and, close beside the former, the graves of Badrīyeh's children. Of Sitt Badrīyeh many tales are told.

(*c*) *A Story of the Maḳām of Sultān Badr.*

There is a piece of land belonging to the *waḳf* of Sultān Badr in the village of Deir esh-Sheikh in the guardianship of a man appointed to cultivate it. In a certain year he was raising on it two kinds of crops—onions and tobacco—when one night two men belonging to the family of Sheikh Aḥmed el-'Ajameh came from the village to steal the onions. They collected them in a sack and set out. They took, as they thought, the road to the village, but they found themselves back at the door of the wely. And they tried again and took another road, and once again they found themselves at the door of the wely. And they returned once more to the garden and began to prowl about in it, but then they could not find the gate to get out, and so it happened that they walked about with the sack of onions on their backs till morning. And when dawn appeared, they found to their astonishment that they were still in the garden. And while they were in this state of confusion the caretaker of the garden came up and asked them what they were doing in that place. They had by now hidden the sack of onions, and so managed to convince him that they were only passing travellers. The caretaker had no idea they were robbers. And they went on their way towards Beit Nattif, and on their road they saw a man carrying a sack. This man, when he saw them from a distance, recognized them as belonging to the noble family at Deir esh-Sheikh, and so he dropped the sack and ran away lest he should be recognized. Now this man was from Beit Nattif, and he had been stealing tobacco from the same garden from which the other two men had stolen the onions. When these two reached the sack they saw it was full of tobacco, but they had no idea whence it came. So they took the tobacco and hid it in a cave, intending to fetch it after nightfall; and they seated themselves at some distance off, fearing lest someone else should come and take the sack. And when night came they went to the cave and began looking for the sack but could not find it anywhere. And they waited there till morning, when they dared

wait no longer, lest someone should see them. Later in the day they returned to the cave and found the sackful of tobacco in its former place, so they made a note of its position, measuring out the number of paces it lay from the entrance. And then they sat outside where they had been the previous day. When night came they went to the cave to fetch away the sack and, as on the previous night, they could not find it. Then one remarked to the other: "The same curious things have happened to us here as occurred with the sack of onions: we had better take away the sack in daylight and let happen what will." And so next morning when the sack reappeared in the cave, they took it and went on their way. While they were walking along the road they met *khuyyāl* (horsemen) of the government, agents of the Tobacco Regie, who control the planting and sale of tobacco. These took the two robbers prisoner and took them to their officer who was waiting at a place called 'Ain el-Ḥōbīn, near Deir esh-Sheikh, where there is a spring of very good water (one of the six springs which arose at the behest of Sultān Badr—*see* previous story). The soldiers here handed over their prisoners with the sack of tobacco. The officer thought they had been growing illicit tobacco, and detained them for further examination, intending to send them to Hebron for trial. While they were still detained at 'Ain el-Ḥōbīn, some camel-drivers came to water their animals. These people at once recognized the sack as one which had been stolen from them full of rice, at Beit Nattīf. They had suffered for this robbery by having had the value of the rice deducted from their wages by the merchant who owned the rice at Hebron. They at once came to the officer and told him the whole affair, and begged him to take care of the sack and to report the affair to the merchant at Hebron. The officer then said that one of their number should accompany the prisoners to Hebron the next day, to bring the complaint before the merchant.

Meanwhile the news was noised abroad that the soldiers had found two men with illicit tobacco, and the guardian of the *wakf* of Sultān Badr at Deir esh-Sheikh, thinking it might be tobacco from his garden, went to the 'Ain, and recognized in the prisoners the two men he had seen in his garden among the onions, and, on looking at the tobacco, he recognized that it was from the same place. He reported these facts to the officer, but the prisoners at once swore that they had not stolen the tobacco, but had taken it from a man of Beit Nattīf, who had left the sack and run away. The officer

said to them: "This is not my business, I shall send you to Hebron, and whoever has a claim against you will make it then." And next morning the officer sent the prisoners in charge of a khayyāleh (horse soldier) to Hebron. Then the camel-man told his story to the merchant, and the merchant made a claim against them for the rice, and so it came about that the men were put in prison, both for stealing the tobacco and the rice, neither of which things they had actually done. Later on the authorities heard who the man was who had stolen the tobacco from the garden of Sultān Badr in the first instance, and they sent a khayyāl to take him, and they found him lying ill in the house, with one of his legs palsied, so that he could not walk. And, up till now, he cannot bend it; it is stiff, as if all of one piece, from hip to heel.

And all these misfortunes happened to these men because they transgressed against the *wakf* of Sultān Badr.

(*To be continued.*)

THE IMMOVABLE EAST.

By Philip J. Baldensperger.

(*Continued from Q.S.*, 1915, p. 170.)

Clothes and Fashions.

(*d*) (1) The mantle commonly worn by the fellahin and also by many a Madani, is the striped brown and white woollen *'abā*, with the epithet *mehillāwīya*, "essentially local," as the name indicates (from *mehall*, "place"). The *'abā* is also called *radā* in some places in the north. It is made, not only in the towns, but also in the villages of Palestine. It is a square, woven in two pieces, and sewn together. There are no sleeves, but simple cuts through which the arms pass. These armholes, however, are never used. The sides are doubled and sewn together at the top, leaving an empty space of a few inches for the neck, the sewn parts resting simply on the

shoulders. The hem and the borders are sewn by the women. This *'abā* is worth about four *mejīdīs*. Besides the local *'abā* there are several others, made elsewhere, as the *'abā 'ehsāwi*, half wool and half cotton, made in Homs and worth 3½ *mejīdīs*. The *'abā 'azrāḳī*, of white cotton and blue wool, made in Damascus. The *'abā dibbūānī*, of *Dêr Dibbūān*. All these *'abās* are striped either black, brown, blue, red, or white.

(2) The *shāl* is the black or dark blue Egyptian mantle worn by all the southernmost inhabitants of Palestine and all dwellers in tents, though the *Ta'amri* and *Sawaḥri*, *Fēllāḥ-Bēdū*, have the striped *'abā*.

(3) The red mantle, or *'abā ḥamra*, more correctly called *bisht*, is a small mantle in one piece: it is worn in a few villages about Jerusalem, by the women of Siloam and Lifta and in Nablūs and Nazareth. The *Bēdū* women all wear the *shāl*.

The Hebrews wore the *me'īl*, or overcoat, which is very much like the *'abā* of the fellaḥīn. It appeared only in later years, when the Egyptian *simlā* was to be excluded from Palestine. Through the desert the Israelites had *s'mālōth*, which they brought from Egypt. These *s'mālōth* may be compared with the dark *Bēdū shāl*, which will last for many years, *cf.* Deut. viii, 4, "Thy raiment (*simlāth'khā*) waxed not old upon thee." All through Deuteronomy the *simlā* is mentioned exclusively, for men as well as for women (Deut. xxi, 13) and often. Jacob (Gen. xxxvii, 34), Joshua (vii, 6), David (2 Sam. xii, 20), and Ruth (Ruth iii, 3) all had *s'mālōth*. The Israelites took the *simlā* from the Egyptians (Ex. iii, 22).

In the books of Samuel we find mention of the *me'īl*; it is worn by Samuel, who, as a child, received a small *me'īl* from his mother, when she sent him to Shiloh (1 Sam. ii, 19).

Isaiah mentions the *simlā* as worn by a sheikh (iii, 6) and by women (iv, 1). The *me'īl* is compared with zeal (lix, 17) and with justice (lxi, 10). David received a *me'īl* from his brother-in-law and from Jonathan (1 Sam. xviii, 4).

The *'abā* is not generally rent, except in cases of great sorrow; the girdle is then put over it. Ezra (ix, 3), rent his garment and his *me'īl*.

(*e*) Shoes are red for men and yellow for women. In towns, shoes are called *zarūmī* (plural). The fellaḥīn say *waṭa* or *madā*, and the Bēdū *na'l*, which may be compared with the Hebrew *na'al*.

(*f*) (1) The flowing kaftan, called *kombaz* in the towns and *kibr* by the fellaḥīn, is striped in different colours, either black and white,

green and white, or blue or violet. It has long and narrow sleeves, open in front and lined with muslin or sheeting. It is put over the *thōb*, as are also the drawers and the waistcoat, and it is girdled together with the other clothes. The *kombaz* is only put on when no manual work is being undertaken, as it hinders all movement. Esau left his *beghedh*, which is this *kibr*, at home, when he went out to hunt (Gen. xxvii, 15).

Joseph left the *beghedh* in the hands of Potiphar's wife (Gen. xxxix, 12), and ran out with his *thōb* on; he could very easily slip away from her by leaving the *beghedh*, which is open, like a long coat. This same garment was to have fringes, *zīzīth*, at the borders. One object of the fringes was to secure the garment, for decency sake (Numbers xv, 38, 39). The Syrians, under Benhadad, fleeing from Samaria towards the Jordan, threw away their *beghādhīm*, so as to run faster (2 Kings vii, 15).

Ezra, as leader of Israel, was wearing all the usual garments, when he rent his clothes (Ezra ix, 5). Job compares himself to a moth-eaten *beghedh* (Job xiii, 28). Now the *thōb* is hardly ever put away, neither is the mantle, but the *beghedh* is regularly put away in summer and is not used any more till the cold season; it can, therefore, easily become moth-eaten ere the owner is aware.

(2) The *zāya* is the same garment, but is always white. It is worn by the *Hhātīb*, and by elderly and serious people (over forty years of age). This is certainly the white *beghedh* recommended by the preacher (Eccles. ix, 8). The Israelites imported this white *beghedh* from Egypt, where it was worn by high dignitaries and priests. When Joseph became Governor of Egypt, Pharaoh gave him, besides the ring and golden chain, a white *beghedh*, by which he might be known (Gen. xli, 42). The priests, in later days, adopted the white garment only to enter into the Holy Place, *bighedhē pishtīm yilbāshū* (Ezek. xliv, 17).

(3) The red kaftan, *hidem*, or *atlas*, tissue of silk, is frequently given, as a present, at weddings or other feasts (even at burials). These are made in Bagdad and Damascus, and are worth from 15*s.* to £1. The sleeves are wider than those of the *zāya* and *kibr*, and the whole is often trimmed with yellow or some other coloured lace, and lined with *shash*. The fellahin and Bedū (rarely, except the sheikhs) only wear these on solemn occasions. The red *hidem* was known to the Hebrews as "change of clothes." Samson brought

thirty *ḥ*^{a}*līfōth*, or "changes" of clothes, to the young men at the wedding ceremony (Judges xiv, 12). Gē*ḥ*aji accepted two "changes" of clothes from Na'aman, the Syrian (2 Kings v, 22). The red *ḥidem* was also known and worn on great occasions. "Who is he that cometh from Edom with dyed garments from Bozra? . . . in glorious apparel . . . Wherefore art thou red in thine apparel, . . ." (Isaiah lxiii, 1–2). After the Captivity the red *beghādhīm* were worn in Mesopotamia (Esther viii, 15; Daniel v, 29). Blue and purple garments were regarded by Jeremiah with disapproval (x, 9). *Maḥ*^{a}*lazōth* and *ḥ*^{a}*līzōth* (Judges xiv, 19, and Isaiah iii, 22) also mean "changes."

(4) The blue cloth kaftan, *menthiān jōkh*, is worn by the very highest classes only, those who consider themselves princes, as the Sheikhs of *Abu Ghōsh*, *Beth-'Etab*, *Bīr el-Ma'in*, and so forth. They sometimes have embroidery on them, when they are worn in towns. Arabic words ending in *ian* are of Persian origin, as *menthiān*, *hindiān* (Persian girdle), *lēwān* (porch), *takhtriwan* (litter), etc. This *menthiān* is also a Babylonian importation.

The Hebrew *maddīm* were worn by ambassadors and princes. Saul gave David his own *maddīm* (1 Sam. xvii, 38); the king of Ammon cut the *maddīm* of David's ambassadors to the girdle (2 Sam. x, 4), and 'Ehud had his sword below his *maddīm* (Judges iii, 16).

(*g*) The fur, *farwa*, or *furwa*, in the towns, is a big overcoat of cloth, lined with fur (*furwet samūr*) of sable. The furs are brought from Russia and are very expensive. But the fellaḥīn have a home-made *farwat*, made of sheep or lamb's skins. These are not as long as the townsmen's furs, which reach to the ankles. They extend to the girdle; in a few exceptions to above the knees. The city fur is worn with the hair inside, but the country fur is worn with the hair outside, giving the illusion, from a distance, of a hairy man. The prophets Elijah and Elisha wore the *'addereth* (2 Kings ii, 13, 14), and in Zech. xiii, 4, we read that the hairy *'addereth* was the prophets' garment. When Ahaziah sent to Elijah and asked the messengers how he looked, they said he was "hairy" *ba'al sē'ār* (2 Kings i, 8), but before this we meet Elijah with his *'addereth* (1 Kings xix, 13 and 19). This hairy garment was worn much earlier, and probably before any other raiment, by taking the skins of lambs and throwing them across the shoulders. When Esau was born he was like a "hairy *'addereth*" (Gen. xxv, 25).

(*h*) The shoulder band, called *shnār*, is woven of coloured wool. It is slipped over the head and crosses on the back, where two big tassels hang in the middle. This band is used to tuck up the broad and long sleeves when at work. Grown-up people use a thread or plain rope, but boys and young men have the *shnār*, made by a "friend," who puts silk around the tassels with her loving hands; this is one of the few objects which mark some kind of courting between the young men and girls. It is a kind of keepsake, worn in remembrance, and reminding daily of the tenderness and thoughtfulness of the friend. When the *shnār* is forgotten, or mislaid, the wearer, accustomed to it, feels uneasy; his sleeves seem ever in his way. Probably the *p'thīl* (transl. "fringe" or "bracelet"), one of the three pledges left by Judah in the hands of Tamar, was a *shnār*: it would be indispensable to such a man at work or on a journey, as Judah, who was going to shear sheep (Gen. xxxviii, 12 and 18), and had put on his best articles of clothing for the occasion.

Women have different kinds of head-dresses besides the ornaments already described in the Goldsmith's Work.

(1) The *shatara* is the heavily built up saddle cap worn in Bethlehem and Bethjala. It has two stiff chin-straps, and on these the whole of a woman's fortune is sewn, in gold or silver coins, looking like a crown. This cap often weighs 5 or 6 lbs. It causes the women serious headaches when perchance they put them away, for they weave them into the hair and never take them off to go to sleep; *cf.* the *z'nīfōth* of Isaiah iii, 23 (hoods).[1]

(2) The *takīa* is square, of embroidered red stuff. It is fixed on the head by means of long threads twined into the hair. Both these caps are held to the neck by a chain, along which coins of different dimensions are dangling. On the front they have, in some places south of Jerusalem, a single row of coins, laid close together. In the north, as far as Syria, the coins are put near each other, vertically, and form a thick circle about the forehead.

(3) The *'ukā* is a little lighter than the above, and is worn by girls.

(4) Baby-girls have a small cap called *wirr*, or *bukhnik*. Girls

[1] The *smāde* is the money-covered head-dress, differing from the Bethlehem hood in having only one row of coins which form a garland round the front. In Siloam and *Abu Dīs* the women have various silver articles dangling about the forehead, as stars, hands, circles, etc.

and young women in the *Ftūḥ* (Philistia) have necklaces of stained glass or blue, red and yellow beads, *ḵharaz*. The blue beads are called *maʻjūn*, the red *ḥab rummān* (pomegranate grains), and the coral beads *murjān kezāb* [*sic*].

Veils are only worn by the townswomen and by Bēdū women.

(1) The *stār* is the fine veil, covering all the face, corresponding to the *redhiḏh* of the daughters of Zion (Isaiah iii, 23) and the bride of Jerusalem (Cant. v, 7).

(2) The *burḳu* is the dark half-veil of the Bēdu women and the Egyptians. The Egyptian veil is fastened in the middle by a row of five or six rings, one above the other, forming a yellow column and leaving the eyes visible. The veil hangs down to the breast and is kept in place by silver and gold coins, according to wealth, covering the nose and mouth entirely.

(3) The Bēdu *burḳaʻ* is not always dark. It is made of narrow strips of cloth, bordered with coins; often several pieces are placed one above the other, like scales, each scale being lined with coins. The central thread, holding it up, lifts the middle of the veil, so that the mouth has some liberty and the breath can be drawn freely. This veil is much healthier than the Egyptian variety.

Sarah, the wife of Abraham, had no veil when she came to Palestine and Egypt, as was the custom in Syria. Abimelech, king of Gerar, thought she was unmarried; having heard that she was Abraham's wife, he ordered that she and all those (women) who were with her should wear veils, *ḵᵉsūṯḥ*, "covering"; and he gave her *brother* Abraham a thousand pieces of silver as an ornament (Gen. xx, 16).

The *masweh*, or veil, of Moses, is a *burḳaʻ*, also called *niḳāb*. There is a tradition among the Moslems that Joseph was so fair that his master ordered him to be put on a veil, lest the women should become enamoured of him.

(1) The head-veils are sometimes used by the women to cover a part of their faces only. They are not intentionally designed to hide the face. The South Palestine townswomen of Gaza have a white head veil, *ḵena'*, used to cover the head, shoulders, mouth and nose; they only put this veil over the lower part of the face when a stranger appears. This veil corresponds to the *ẓāʻīf* which Rebekah took, and with which she covered her face (Gen. xxiv, 65). She had the veil on her head, but simply drew it across her face out of respect for Isaac. Tamar, who also was accustomed

to have an open head-veil, took the *ẓā'if* and covered her face on seeing Judah (Gen. xxxviii. 14). This simple change of veils, and the covered mouth and nose, made her utterly unknown to her father-in-law. The veil which she wore as a widow was merely an unwashed *ṭarḥa*, called *miṭpāḥā*, whilst the *ẓā'if* was clean, no doubt.

(2) The *ṭarḥa* of the fallāhāt is a plain white shawl, covering head and shoulders and half the breast. The face is framed in, the rows of coins on the head are covered, and the sides of the veil at the cheeks are tucked into the chin strap, the hem being ornamented by white tassels.

(3) The *khirka* is a similar veil, but a good deal longer; the women, when they have no baskets, carry bread and all kinds of articles in their veils, and even wrap themselves in them, the cotton being very thickly woven. This is the *miṭpāḥā* of Ruth, who spread it out and received in it the six measures of barley from Boaz (Ruth iii. 15). Generally this shawl-veil has no ornament.

(4) A black silk veil, with a few yellow stripes, the *shan-bar 'asmar*, usually with red fringes, sometimes with none at all.

(5) A white silk veil, without fringe, *shan-bar 'abyad*; both these veils are reserved for very solemn occasions, weddings or cemetery visits. The Moslems do not change clothes for joy or for sorrow.

(6) A simple black veil called *shāl*.

(7) The *mandīl*, a coloured kerchief, covering only the head, and hanging to the shoulders, worn only by very young girls, or in the house, in the absence of any male visitor; it gives more ease than the heavier shawls. The *mandīl* of the Lebanon is the graceful lace veil and does not cover the face; it is probably the origin of the Spanish mantilla.

The handerchief is called *mandīl*, but more commonly *meḥramma*. It is used for everything except for blowing the nose. The fellahīn tie it to the girdle and put money, tobacco, some grains of coffee, etc., in a corner of it. The *meḥramma* is coloured and is given to the men as a token of friendship. The hem is bordered with crochet-work, and the corners have fine small silk tassels. It is not mentioned in the Old Testament and was perhaps not known as a handkerchief, though the *'adhīdhīm* of the daughters of Zion (Isaiah iii, 23, transl. "veils"), may have been used for the same purposes as the little *mandīl*, or *meḥramma*, is used by the Arabs. The curious word مِحْرَمَة, *meḥramma*, denotes that it was (originally, at

least) only used in the *harīm*, perhaps as a veil. The handkerchiefs of St. Paul were laid on the sick (Acts xix, 12), but this was in Greece. St. Paul had adopted the customary articles of clothing of the country wherein he journeyed. No doubt in the days of the Roman and Byzantine Emperors, clothing was modified, in the towns at all events, by the influence of officials coming with their national costumes, either from Rome or from Byzantium. The legions also had some effect on the fashions of garrison towns in particular, but this influence would vanish with the withdrawal of the soldiers.

(*To be continued.*)

THE JEWS AS BUILDERS.[1]

By Prof. Archibald C. Dickie, M.A., F.S.A.

It appears to be true that, although some early Hebrew buildings may have been of a nature justifying the title of Architecture, exploration has revealed evidence of little more than mere crude building as a general characteristic. At the same time, fragments of early works show a degree of skill in mason-craft, which forces one to consider present evidence as inconclusive.

In Palestine, the work of the excavator has been confined to the sites west of the Jordan and out of the many cities enumerated in the Old Testament, only about twelve have been excavated. These are Jerusalem, Gezer, Beth Shemesh, Lachish, Tell Sandahannah, Tell es-Safi, and Tell Zakariah, by the Palestine Exploration Fund, and Samaria, Megiddo, Jericho, and Taanach by German and American Exploration Societies. In these sites complete investigation was impossible for various reasons. Plans of the boundary fortifications have, however, been recovered and it is now possible to judge of their modest proportions. An area of anything from six to twenty-five acres would appear to have been commonly considered sufficient to contain an important city. Leaving out of

[1] A paper read at a meeting of the Manchester Egyptian and Oriental Society, on March 11th, 1914. Reprinted from the Journal of the Society, 1913–1914, with the kind permission of the Editor and Publisher.

the question, for the moment, the extended Jerusalem of Solomon and his successors, it is within these closely packed areas that we must search. At the outset, they stand self-convicted of a condition precluding the development of building, and this conclusion is strengthened by an examination within the walls.

For some years, I have tried to gather together available evidence in the hope of finding some continuation of a type such as one may reasonably assume was expressed by the buildings of Solomon, our understanding of which is based upon descriptions. Up to the present, however, only negative results are on record.

It is necessary to commence our examination with the earliest evidence of occupation by the races preceding the Hebrew invasion, for the reason that housing conditions then established appear to have continued with only slight alterations, up to Hellenistic times. Prof. Macalister's work at Gezer,[1] shows that the Neolithic races of Palestine had established themselves in extensive cave communities of considerable strength, as early as 3000 B.C. These races chose sites on rocky hills or spurs of hills wherein they burrowed through the soft limestone. In some cases, their abodes were extended in the manner of rabbit burrows having many compartments connected by passages and provided with various entrances and exits. Entrances were usually in the form of manholes cut through the roofs, with two or three rudely cut steps, rising from the floor of each cave so entered. Some regard for internal convenience is shown in the various niches recessed in the walls, used, in all probability, as cupboards or wardrobes. Small triangular lamp niches, much smoked and set about 3 or 4 feet high, explain the system of artificial lighting. Except in those compartments having manholes, the caves were altogether dark. Evidence of an attempt at something akin to the "Grand Manner" in Cave Architecture is seen in one of the systems explored at Beit Jibrîn,[2] Here is a large rectangular hall measuring 47 feet by 18 feet having recessed chambers from its sides and approached by a regular rock-cut staircase; included in the system are several rounded chambers. The only evidence of decoration to be found in these caves are the graffiti scratched on the walls, but as it is impossible to tell when these were cut, too much importance need not be put upon them. Special caves were set aside for burial purposes.

[1] *The Excavation of Gezer.* R. A. S. Macalister.
[2] *Excavations in Palestine.* Bliss and Macalister.

The geographical distribution of Palestine is such that limited tribal boundaries became inevitable,[1] and the first real building effort is displayed in the earth ramparts, cased in stone, by which the cave cities were protected against neighbouring enemies. (See *Q.S.*, 1903, pp. 113–116.) Semitic invaders drove out the Troglodytes and established themselves on the vacated sites *c.* 2500 B.C. Although the caves appear to have remained in use, they were overlaid by buildings and the low fortifications were replaced by high stone walls. One may therefore assume that the site then yielded accommodation both above and below the surface. The remains of buildings of this and later periods, show them to have been of the rudest possible character, laid out without system and packed together haphazard, having regard to nothing indicating a knowledge of even the most primitive town-planning. The huts themselves were small and irregular in shape, showing no geometrical knowledge. Narrow approach-alleys, unpaved and bounded by plain mud-plastered walls, meandered through the maze to the various entrances; in fact, plans of that period are so confused and fragmentary that the existence of alleys can only be assumed. Fortifications appear to have occupied the chief attention of the new tenants and they, in conjunction with the more important water engineering works, provide the strongest evidence of engineering ability. These cities then, such as they were, became the scenes of the triumphs of the invading Hebrews and the spies who told of high and strong walls "fenced up to heaven," were reporting on 6 to 25 acre forts, within which the refugees from the outer villages joined their chief for protection. The rivalry and jealousy of the marauding clans of Canaan, to which the high walls bear ample testimony, were the Hebrews' strongest allies in their piecemeal conquests.

The Semitic races (which for simplicity's sake may be grouped under one name "Canaanite") now established, made little or no progress in the arts of building and, except in the way of adding towers and otherwise strengthening the fortifications, they appear to have had little opportunity to improve.

After the occupation of Palestine by the Hebrews, the conditions of cities varied only slightly. Fortifications were, from time to time, strengthened. Successive layers of superimposed foundations found in every mound excavated, and frequently accompanied by

[1] *Historical Geography.* G. A. Smith.

regular layers of ashes, quantities of charred grain, etc., tell of demolition and hurried rebuilding in confirmation of written history. Some little improvement is seen in house-planning. The single hut, which had previously more often been extended by the addition of rooms to its sides, gradually disappears and more methodical plans appear, consisting of outer open court, living chamber entering off the court and inner chambers, covered by flat roofs with protecting parapets (according to the Law). Walls were built of mud bricks or stone; in the case of the latter, the stones were usually rough blocks laid in mud; squared stones appear rarely and as if from the hand of imported workmen. Internally, the walls were plastered, and small fragments of painted plaster discovered show some attempts at colour decoration. Roofs were formed of rough joists covered with brushwood and mud. Unusually wide spans were carried on beams with intermediate supports of wooden posts in stone base sockets introduced to prevent the post sinking into the clay floor.

An interesting if gruesome custom practised by the Canaanites, and continued apparently for some time by the Hebrews, was that of human sacrifice (see *Q.S.*, 1904, p. 17; 1908, p. 206) in the foundation dedication rites of their buildings, to which there is allusion in the Old Testament. Bodies buried diagonally, under the return angle of the foundations have been found, indicating an importance put upon stability, scarcely borne out by the insufficiency of the building itself. It was, however, just that want of constructional skill which made it possible for the winter rains, penetrating the heart of loosely built and badly founded walls, to effect a complete collapse. In this connexion, reference may be made to a custom in vogue to-day, among native builders, viz., that of building the walls of a house and leaving them uncovered for a winter, in order to put them to the water test. The parallel is made more complete by an examination of the present system of building in Palestine, which is equally loose but rendered slightly more homogeneous by the substitution of lime mortar for the mud invariably used by the ancient builders. A position also reserved for dedication rites was underneath the threshold, and in later Hebrew times the rite was observed by the more humane burial of a lamp between two bowls as symbolic of sacrifice. In these and in many other references, there is evidence of a demand for durability, akin to what has been ever present in all great national building achievements.

The decorated granite of Egypt was a consummation of the same ideal, but the Jew never reached the stage of even making the most of his own soft limestone. Distrained and distressed, in his building infancy, he sought refuge in sacrifice from calamity to which his experience lent many parallels. "What man is there that hath built a new house and hath not dedicated it? Let him return lest he die in battle" (Deut. xx, 5).

Solomon's imported work at Jerusalem 400 or 500 years after the Conquest, was a great advance. In spite of much promise, however, it appears to have had little after-effect, and there are little or no signs of improvement in the buildings of other cities with which his reign is credited. At Lachish, Prof. Flinders Petrie discovered a few fragments of the Solomonic period, showing the Egyptian lintel cavetto and bead mouldings used over doorways in conjunction with jamb slab decoration in the form of low relief pilasters with rudely carved volutes. The latter discovery is one of particular interest illustrating, as it does, the stonecutters' primitive attempt to imitate a feature in which the volute occurs as early as *c.* 1000 B.C. The scantiness of such fragments, however, point to chance importation. The lintel was undoubtedly borrowed from Egypt, and the volute may possibly be traced to some remote Ionic prototype.

The main features considered in the "lay out" of a normal Jewish city were: the Stronghold or inner fort, the High Place, the Broad Place by the Gate, and the Market Place. The Stronghold had the obvious and most important function of a last defence. The High Place was prominent in both Canaanite and Jewish cities and consisted of an open area in which a row of monoliths was placed, accompanied by an altar, laver and cave for refuse. (See *Q.S.*, 1903, p. 25.) All about the area and around the bases of the standing stones at Gezer, bodies of sacrificed infants in earthenware jars were buried in Canaanite and early Jewish periods. It is the alignment of standing stones,[1] however, which is chiefly interesting in our present quest. These sacred boulders express a condition of building barbarity which could not have existed contemporaneously with architecture as an expression of the higher building sense; they were borrowed and remained, for the time being, as monuments of Jewish inability to erect a more fitting offering.

[1] There are eight stones standing in a line of about 100 feet, the largest stone being 10 feet 6 inches high.

Hellenistic influence brought with it the first real improvement in building and planning. The toleration of Alexander the Great marks a new period of semi-national building, and a greater development is shown in the 200 or 300 years following his conquest, than during the whole preceding period of over 1000 years. Although this term of comparative prosperity was broken by the viciousness of Antiochus Epiphanes and the consequent revolt of the Jews, it was renewed in even greater degree, during their independence under the princely family of the Maccabees. Fashions in Greek manners and architecture became popular. Regard for formality and order in the lay-out of city-plans is seen, streets became wider, and buildings show the temper of fitness to their sites and purpose. (See *Q.S.*, 1900, p. 326.) The main features of Greek architecture were borrowed and incorporated with such strong local feeling that there seemed hopes of a national type as the eventual result of Greek tutoring. Before this could be accomplished, however, Rome stepped in with overpowering influence.

The painted Tombs of Marissa,[1] discovered by Drs. Peters and Thiersch, show a type of architecture of this Graeco-Syrian character in which the parapet is incorporated in the façade, over triangular-headed openings flanked by quasi-Greek details of a peculiarly local character. The remains of the Temple of Onias at Leontopolis, excavated by Dr. Flinders Petrie, appear to show the same illogical use of classic entablature in conjunction with parapets of the same wavy outline as those illustrated at Marissa. The stern Greek treatment of the eaves was not observed. The parapet, which was legally demanded (Deut. xxii, 8), maintained its place as the crowning feature and below it the cornice appears only as an intermediate horizontal band. If it were possible, it would be interesting to discuss the battle between the architecture of the local flat roof and parapet here illustrated, and that of the sloping roof and cornice of alien Greece. In spite of the architectural impetus of the latter, everything points to the retention of the parapet as an all-important detail which, in the natural course of development, must have quickly ousted the classic eave and gable and so have established a definite constructional form, arising out of the flat roof, to which beauty could be partnered.

Such a paper as this would not be complete without further reference to the Temples of Jerusalem. The descriptions of Solomon's

[1] *The Painted Tombs at Marissa.* Peters and Thiersch.

Temple and Courts are so full that many restorations have been attempted. As, however, no single portion of the remains of any of the Temples has been yet identified, it will be well, in the light of recent discoveries of contemporary buildings elsewhere, to confine oneself only to generalities. The temple proper was comparatively small, covering an area of about 90 by 30 feet, and having a height to the ceiling of 45 feet, the roof presumably being flat. Externally, the building seems to have been plain, and it would appear that the "Coping" indicates merely the existence of a parapet as a crowning feature, enclosing a flat roof. Masonry was smooth-dressed and close-jointed, and in this respect it differs from most of the masonry of the period elsewhere. Stones occurring in the walls of Jerusalem which may, with some certainty, be assigned to this period, show similar advanced masoncraft. The two external columns had richly decorated "chapiters." Internally, cedar boarding was largely used as wall covering and "there was no stone seen," woodwork was in parts, richly carved, and gilding was freely applied in the decoration. Undoubtedly, the Temple of Solomon, with its surrounding courts, cloisters and gates, platforms and steps, was by far the greatest building of the Jews. Its character was Phoenician since it was the work of Phoeniceans, but there speculation ends. The enthusiasm shown at the completion of such an offering to God can well be imagined. The Jews themselves knew no building but their own rude huts and fortifications, so that Solomon was forced to borrow Hiram's skilled craftsmen. That the group of buildings was laid out with considerable architectural skill is evident, although it must also be borne in mind that, by comparison, it loomed large and rich in the eyes of the Jews who saw in it the centre of national aspirations under divine favour. After the Captivity, the Temple and Courts which had been destroyed by Nebuchadnezzar, were re-built by Zerubbabel, *c.* 520 B.C. The work was not up to the standard of the original buildings (Hag. ii, 3), and this is not surprising when we compare the social and political conditions of the Jews.

A great portion of Herod's extended Temple area walls still remains. It is the power and dignity of these fortifications with their huge internal vaulted substructure transforming the irregular hill into a great level platform, which tell something of the story. Such a setting warranted a fitting jewel and it is unlikely that here the finest period of Imperial Rome should have failed. This great effort

was of course entirely alien and dominating, generously applied to Jewish service but only lent for an imperial purpose. In no other light can it be considered in Jewish History.

Comparison is here strongly marked. Great building is begotten of great expansion, but the greatness of the Jews lay in their heroic but unsuccessful struggles for the preservation of national integrity. They had forsaken their tents for the unlovely walled shelters of the Canaanites, and within these they strove against internal sedition and external enemies. No better instance of this can be quoted than that of Simon and John, who, having common cause against Titus, found opportunity, in the breathing spaces of Roman attacks, to wage war against each other; this at a time when the sufferings of a protracted siege, in defence of their most sacred possession, had all but reached their limit.

The references to building greatness in the Old Testament, indicate a pride out of all scale with actuality. Ideals were not lacking, "Behold, I will lay thy stones with fair colours and thy foundations with sapphires . . . and I will make thy windows with agates and thy gates of carbuncles and thy borders of pleasant stones." So wrote Isaiah with the true imagination of a great builder. The desire to build in strength and beauty is abundantly evident. Had history been different, Solomon's great example might have laid the foundation of a national style of architecture; the disruption which followed his death, however, left his reign the only period in which development on these lines was possible. The arts of peace died in the seed and the greatest works of the Jews are to be found in their water-supplies and fortifications. These show engineering power of no mean standard, forced out of them by the sheer necessity for self-preservation.

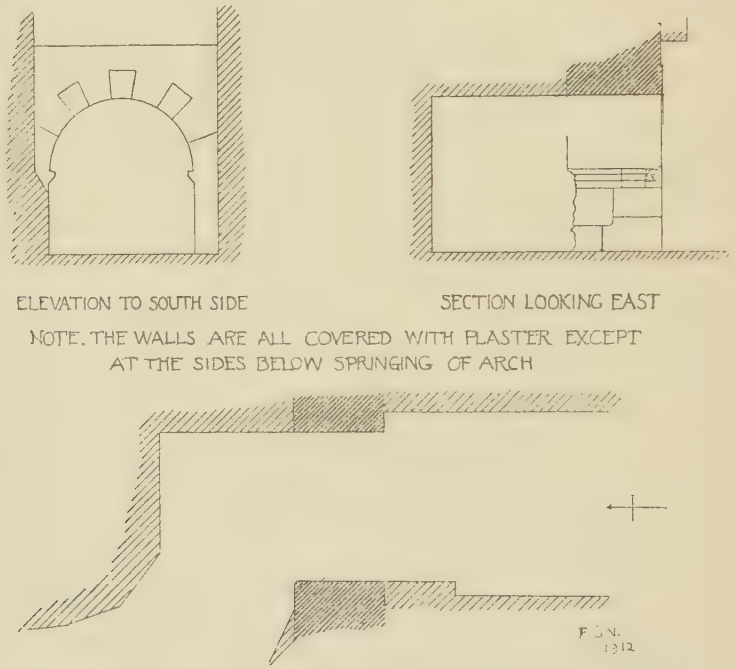
NOTES ON DAMASCUS.

By F. G. Newton.

1. *Roman Arch, North of North Gate, in Temple Enclosure Wall.*

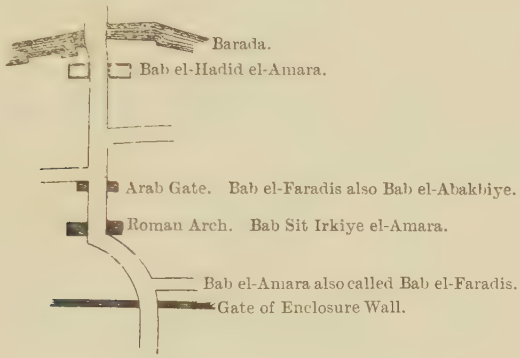
This arch was recently noticed by the Rev. J. E. Hanauer, and its position is shown on the plan (G) in *Q.S.*, Jan., 1912, p. 40. It had been previously noticed by Porter, and is described as follows in *Five Years in Damascus*, p. 52: "Proceeding eastward from hence, along a narrow street lined with good houses, we reach Bab el-Faradis

'the Garden Gate.' This is a fine Roman archway leading through a wall of great thickness, and is built of massive blocks of hewn stone. It is one of the ancient gates of the city, and was dedicated to the moon." A little further on he notes that the gate of the temple enclosure wall, about thirty yards to the south, is also called Bab el-Faradis. Ten yards to the north of the Roman arch is an Arab gate, and, further on, another.


ELEVATION TO SOUTH SIDE
SECTION LOOKING EAST
NOTE. THE WALLS ARE ALL COVERED WITH PLASTER EXCEPT AT THE SIDES BELOW SPRINGING OF ARCH
F.S.N. 1912
PLAN OF GATE NORTH OF NORTH GATE OF ENCLOSURE WALL
ANCIENT CONSTRUCTION
MODERN CONSTRUCTION
SCALE 1 0 1 2 3 4 5 METRES
SCALE 10 5 0 10 FEET

The question of the names of these gates seems to be rather a complicated one, as everybody one asks seems to give a different answer. Mr. Hanauer, who kindly helped me in this matter, found the same difficulty, but we have finally come to the following result. El-Amara is the name of the district, and seems also to be applied to any of the gates, thus causing the confusion.

The portion between the Roman arch and the gate in the temple enclosure wall is known as Bein es-Surein, as has been already stated in *Q.S.*, Jan., 1912.


Barada.
Bab el-Hadid el-Amara.
Arab Gate. Bab el-Faradis also Bab el-Abakbiye.
Roman Arch. Bab Sit Irkiye el-Amara.
Bab el-Amara also called Bab el-Faradis.
Gate of Enclosure Wall.

The Roman arch (*see* sketch) may have been the side entrance of a large triple gateway and in all probability it belongs to the wall of the city. There is very little of the stonework visible, as it is mostly covered by plaster. The jointing that is visible at the sides is rough, and shows the use of lime, and the courses are not kept level right throughout. The cornice mould is quite plain . The arch on the north side shows alternate voussoirs slightly projecting. The south side is not visible. There is not much to indicate its date, but, owing to the coarseness of the jointing, one would be inclined to put it down to a late period of Roman art, possibly the third century A.D.

2. *Ruins at the House of Ananias.*

To the north-west of the so-called house of Ananias, the Rev. J. E. Hanauer recently discovered some walls of ancient construction. As these walls may afford some proof of the authenticity of the site, it seemed worth while to plan what remains of them, especially as before long they may disappear altogether. The visitor to the house of Ananias is shown a small vaulted chapel below the level of the ground. As there is no sign of anything ancient in this chapel or its walls, if he is of a sceptical turn of mind, he naturally puts it

down as one of the places specially invented for tourists and pilgrims. The ruins at the back, however, show that it is highly probable that there was at one time a church here, as in Byzantine times no opportunity was lost in building a church on any spot made important by an incident in scripture.

Although these walls have only been recently brought to our notice by Mr. Hanauer, they had been previously seen by Porter about 60 years ago, and a description is given in his book *Five Years in Damascus*, p. 56, as follows:—

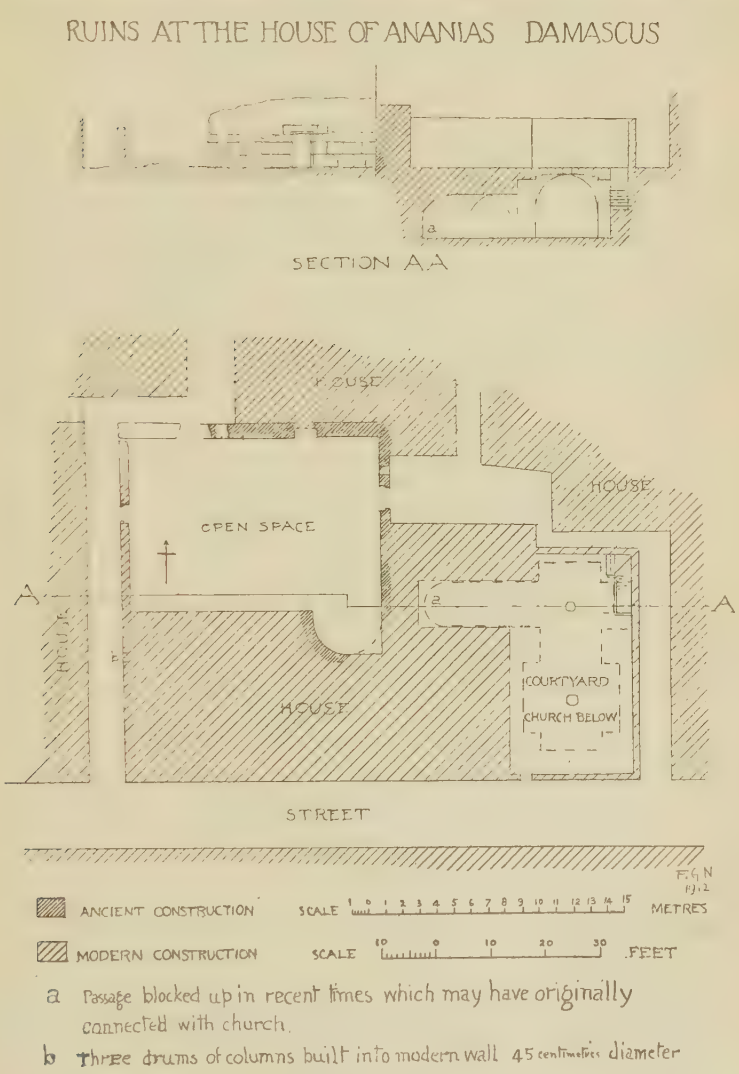
"About 200 yards to the right of this street, up a narrow lane, is the so-called house of Ananias. It is a cave, like almost all the traditional shrines of the land, and has of late years been fitted up as a chapel by the Terra Santa monks. Here are shown the little window through which the angel entered, and the precise spot where Ananias stood whilst receiving the heavenly message! Beside the cave are the ruins of the ancient 'Church of the Cross' mentioned by Ibn 'Asāker. Like many others in the city it was seized by the Moslems, and long used as a mosque before it fell into ruin."

It is interesting to note that the ruins are here mentioned as being those of the "Church of the Cross." The people in the neighbourhood, although Christians, all told me that they were the ruins of a mosque, but seemed surprised when I suggested the possibility of a church being there before. The position of the ancient walls is shown on the plan. Those to the north and east would appear to me to be of Arabic construction, and probably belong to the mosque. The stones themselves, however, were probably taken from an earlier building.

The lintel stone of the doorway in the north wall is a portion of a column cut to fit the position. The apse is on the south side, and was probably used as the *kibleh* at the time of the mosque, though it is larger than usual and, in fact, belongs to the original church. Its construction is different to the wall on the north side, and it probably dates from the Byzantine period (photo. No. 287)[1]. It only exists three courses high. It is impossible to say what the original plan of the church was, and whether this was the only apse or not, but in all probability the modern church on the east side, now shown as the house of Ananias, formed the crypt of the Byzantine church, and was reached by a passage, marked A on the

[1] [The reference is to the photographs sent from Damascus and preserved in the Library of the Fund.]

plan, which is now blocked up. Having been a cave, it is possible that the religious history of this site may go back to a very early



and prehistoric date. There are a great many churches and mosques in Palestine built over or adjoining caves which were originally the centres of some cult long before the Christian era.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL NOTES.

By Joseph Offord.

VI. *A New-found Inscription concerning Hadrian's Jewish War.*

The inscription given below is a copy of that published last year by Mr. C. L. Cheesman, and is re-edited here because it is another memorial intimately connected with a Roman campaign against the Jews in Palestine.[1] It was discovered at Gerash, or Gerasa, whereat several texts relating to personages serving in the War of Vespasian have previously been found.

The inscription is amplified so as to be more easily followed: —

PRO SALVTE
IMPERATORIS · CAESARIS · NOSTRI · TRAIANI
HADRIANI · AVGVSTI · PATRIVS · PATRIAE
DEANIAE · AVGVSTAE
EQVITES · SINGVLARES · EIVS · QVI
HIBERNATI · SVNT · ANTIOCHIAE
AD · CHRYSORHOAN · QVAE
ET GERASA HIERA ET ASVLOS ET
AVTONOMOS QVORVM CVRAM AGIT
M CAL(purnius) VENETVS VIATOR LEGUM
V · MACEDONICAE · TVRMAE · V(iii)
FLAVI TITI (or IIII) STATILI ROMANI
VALERI · BASSI · CANI · AVGVSTINI
[illegible]X PATERNI · VLPI · FESTI
VLPI VICTORIS VLPI AGRIPPINI
VOTVM SOLVIT LIBENS MERITO
HONORIS ET PIETATIS CAVSA.

The interest of this text to our readers lies in the fact of its proving that eight troops, or squadrons, of the Equites Singulares Imperatores, or Royal Body Guard, were at Gerasa in the reign of

[1] *Journal of Roman Studies*, 1914, p. 13. Since the above was written we regret to see that the name of Mr. C. L. Cheesman has appeared in the list of officers killed in the Dardanelles.

Hadrian, and that the emperor was at that city at a period of hostilities. This conflict must have been the Jewish War of A.D. 132–133, because, although we know that Hadrian was in Syria in 117–118 and 129–130, Mr. Cheesman produces excellent reasons for rejecting either of the earlier dates as being that of the engraving of this inscription.

The title of Pater Patriae was not accepted by Hadrian until A.D. 127, so the first visit to Asia is ruled out of the case by the wording of our text. In A.D. 129 Hadrian went to Antioch, but there was no military necessity at that time why a *corps d'élite* should accompany him, and so be placed at Gerasa; but on the occasion of the second Jewish revolt, he would have special reasons for visiting that city with them, or sending troops there, because at the time of their previous insurrection the Jews sacked Gerasa and massacred the Syrian inhabitants, and Vespasian sent L. Annius to reconquer the city.

The view that this newly-found inscription indicates the presence of Hadrian in Syria at the Jewish revolt, confirms the opinion I have previously expressed as to his taking personal part in the campaign.[1] This was based mainly upon two other inscriptions, one of which states that a centurion, Caius Annius Clemens had received military insignia from Hadrian for martial deeds performed in warfare under that emperor in which he commanded 500 men of a Pretorian cohort. There was no other war in which this veteran could have taken part as officer of the personal imperial body-guard but that of Judea.

Further, a Legatus Imperatoris, or staff officer of that rank, only accompanied an emperor in a campaign, and we possess a record of one such who says he took part in the Jewish War under Hadrian. His name was Lollius Urbicus, and his epitaph says of him:—

"Legato Imperatoris Hadriani in Expeditione Judaica."[2]

There is another very valid reason for assigning this inscription to the date of Hadrian's Jewish War, which is set forth by Mr. Cheesman. This is derived from the names of the eight Decurions commanding turmae, or squadrons, of the Guard, who are enumerated in the inscription as wintering at Gerasa. Some

[1] "Inscriptions relating to Hadrian's Jewish War," *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, Vol. XX, 1898, pp. 59-69.

[2] Leon Rénier, *Inscriptions de l'Algerie*, No. 2319.

identical names occur in the list of discharges of veterans, or among names of soldiers inscribed at the barracks of the Equites Singulares in Rome. One of the officers at Gerasa is a Valerius Bassus, and a Centurio Exercitator of that name is mentioned in the Rome texts of the year 139. Valerius was very rarely used as a nomen at this era and so there is little doubt of the identity of this person. Further, Ulpius Agrippa appears in a text upon an altar, *in situ*, at the Equites Singulares post, of about this date. Ulpius Victor and Titus were common appellations at the period of Hadrian's emperorship, and this is the reason why the four upright strokes in the twelfth line of our text have been emended to TITI.

The time is approaching when a Corpus of Greek or Latin Inscriptions relating to the Jews and to Palestine will be ripe for publication, and the above text will then be duly incorporated therein.

VII. *An Aramaic Inscription from Taxila.*

In the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1915, pp. 340 to 347, Dr. L. D. Barnett published a photograph of the first Aramaic inscription discovered in India; and gives his rendering of the text in Hebrew characters, with a tentative translation. Dr. A. Cowley also presents his transcription and version, with a running commentary.

From paleographic evidence the date of the record must be that of about the fourth century B.C. That is the era of the now famous Elephantine papyri, also in Aramaic script, and therefore it is not surprising that, short as is the new text—only twelve lines—it contains at least two words (מראן, "our lord," the title of an official, and ארז, "cedar") which are identical, in the manuscripts from Egypt and the inscription from the site of the ancient city of Taxila.

The word *arz* (*erez*) for cedar, occurs in the Palestine cuneiform tablets found by Dr. Sellin at Taanach; documents certainly contemporary with the Tel el-Amarna correspondence between Syrian princes and Egypt. In the Taanach text it is read as Arzi, which, therefore, was the Canaanite form.

The Assyrian for cedar, and also probably for fir, was *êrnu*, or *êrinu*. Ishtar's title of Irnini is considered to mean "goddess of cedars." If *êrinu* is "fir," it may be connected with the *Oren* of Isaiah xliv, 14.

We give Dr. Cowley's rendering of the inscription. The last word in line 4, he, together with Dr. Barnett, translates "ivory," *cf.* Hebrew שנהבים in 1 Kings x, 22 :—

צדוק
לדמירקו על
נגרותא על
ארז ושנהבותא
ולאבהי הוו
הן פקידתי זנה
זד בהוורה
מורשה וכזי הות
מראן פדידו
מלכותה
ואת בנוהי
למראן פוידש

VIII. *Isis Worship.*

A very remarkable fact concerning the history of ancient Palestine is the entire absence therein, after the development of the Jewish Kingdom, of any recognized worship of a female divinity. This is the more noticeable because among all the nations around, the cult of deities of both sexes—which wherever it once became popular introduced immorality into ritual—was rampant. Although carried temporarily to Mesopotamia by the Captivity, conquered by Alexander, Antiochus and the Romans, the Hebrew element in Judea steadfastly kept out any public introduction, for more than a short-lived period, of any deification of the gentler sex.

This statement is made here because an important corroboration of this is indirectly provided by a pagan writer in a recently-published papyrus, which will be a famous manuscript, of the Panegyric of Isis.[1] In this work its author's laudation of the goddess is mostly achieved by enumerating all her shrines and temples, firstly, those in Egypt, and then in other parts of the then known world; and further in identifying Isis with various Graeco-Roman and Asiatic divinities.

[1] *Egypt Exploration Fund*, "The Oxyrhynchus Papyri." Part XI. Edited by Bernard P. Grenfell and Arthur H. Hunt, D.Litt.

In the list of Isis temples either specifically bearing her name or that of deities identified with her, the author evidently endeavours to augment their numbers as much as possible, and being a person of erudition, he makes out a very comprehensive catalogue.

For those situated in Western Asia he cites Paphos and Salamis in Cyprus, Petra in Syria, Rhinocolura (El-Arish), Dor, Ascalon, Raphia, Gaza, Berytus, Ptolemais (Akka), Bambyce (Antioch) and Persian Susa.[1] He cannot, however, venture to name any edifice dedicated to Isis, or to any deity he can equate with her, in Palestine itself, though those quoted are so contiguous. The date of the manuscript is about the end of the first century.

IX. *Jewish Notes.*

Several publications have appeared in the Archaeological journals concerning matters relating to the Jews, which may be noticed in the *Quarterly Statement.*

(*a*) Prof. Ed. Naville, in the *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, under the title of "Did Menepthah Invade Syria?" makes quite a fresh suggestion concerning the famous inscription of that monarch, discovered by Prof. Flinders Petrie, which related the laying waste of the people of Israel. To appreciate Prof. Naville's view his new translation of what may be called the Syrian part of the Menepthah Stele text must be given. He reads it thus:—"Nobody dares to raise his head among the Nine Bows, or the barbarians. The land of Tehennu is wasted. The land of Canaan is prisoner of all bad things. Askelon is brought (as a prisoner) held fast by Gezer. Inuamma is annihilated. The Israelites are swept off, his seed is no more. The Horites have become like a widow of Egypt." Prof. Naville makes Inuamma the *Ιαμια* of the LXX.

The thesis of Prof. Naville is that the full inscription of Menepthah really records his victory in an African or Libyan war, whilst this last paragraph does not concern a campaign in Palestine, but merely states that on the eastern, or Syrian side, Egypt was at peace with the Kheta, their only formidable Asiatic enemies; whilst the minor peoples of Palestine and the Syrian shore were helpless because of internecine strife. The king is not

[1] Byblos, although so important in the myth of Isis and Osiris, is not mentioned.

said to have gained victories over any of the tribes or peoples mentioned. He is not personally said to have destroyed Askelon or Inuamma, and the hitherto imagined successful war of Menepthah must be struck out of his annals.

Canaan was not to be feared because owing to internal strife it was held helpless by bad events. Askelon had been defeated by Gezer and probably was occupied by a garrison from the latter city. The Inuamma and Israel and the Horites had also all suffered some military disaster. Prof. Naville appears to consider the inscription to be subsequent to the Exodus, for he writes: "The Israelites had left Egypt under peculiar circumstances, none of them remaining in the land, and therefore for the people of Egypt that meant their annihilation."

(*b*) In the November number of the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology* Prof. Naville renews his essays called "Hebraeo-Aegyptiaca." He there treats of the origin of the name Succoth, the first halt of the Israelites leaving Egypt. In Hebrew it would mean huts, or tents, but he traces it to an Egyptian word (as has been done before) pronounced Theku, Theko, Thekut, Thekot. This he now derives from an African word meaning pasture. It appears in the name of the city of Dougga, or Thugga, and is the Berber word thukka. It was known to the Egyptians as the land or district of Theku, and was a cattle-feeding ground. The Pharaohs possessed a sort of model farm there close to the Osiris shrine of Pi-Kerehet (Pi-Hahiroth). The Egypto-Jewish translators fully understood all this because instead of, in the LXX, writing Pihahiroth they substituted ἀπέναντι τῆς ἐπαύλεως, "before the farm." Prof. Naville thinks that African words could easily become common to Egyptians and Semites in South Syria, because in early times the Anu Mentiu, an African people, inhabited the Sinai Peninsula. Prof. Naville does not allude to M. Daressy's important articles on the Exodus names in the geographical papyrus No. 31169 in the Cairo Museum, where Hiroth or Kheroth is considered to be Egyptian Khata, and Pihahiroth is taken to mean Mouth of the Kharta, or Kheriet lake.[1]

[1] A text upon a stele published in Kamal Bey's "Stéles funeraires et Romaines" speaks of "Osiris, Master of the East in Pikeheret," and M. Clédat has edited a text from Tel el-Maskhuta, "Nut, regent of Het-ke-het," a variant he says of Pikeheret and Sekeheret. See *Recueil de Travaux*, XXXVI, 1914, p. 112. See also *Q.S.*, 1912, p. 202.

There is also the papyrus about the attempt to recapture runaway slaves which has already been translated as saying "The pursuers arrived at the fortress of Thukut," which has to be considered. Prof. Naville further proceeds to say that Etham is the Hebrew reading of the Egyptian Adima, which in the Anastasi Papyrus, No. 6, is spoken of as being inhabited by the Shasu. This word has often been rendered Aduma and connected with Edomites. Etham has previously been supposed to stand for Khetem, or Khetam, the frequent title for an Egyptian fort, of which there were several on the frontier.

The question of the geography of the Egyptian portion of the Exodus march is now ripe for solution, but the Cairo papyrus must be utilized when treating fully of the subject.

(*c*) In the same part of the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology* is an article by Dr. Cowley upon "Another Aramaic Papyrus of the Ptolemaic Period." This is really a manuscript previously published, but which is now a little better understood. It appears to concern some small litigation concerning property, one of the disputants being Delaiah son of Haggai. According to Dr. Cowley's reading, part of the property consists of a Torah. The date of the papyrus is thought to be the third century B.C. Two Ostraca are also republished; one is Prof. Sayce's specimen, which mentions the Passover.

(*d*) The *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* gives two excellent photogravures of Hebrew Papyrus fragments from Oxyrhynchus, edited by Dr. Cowley. They are thought to be of the fourth century. Unfortunately, though of palaeographical interest, the connected texts are too short to have any literary value.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF PUBLICATIONS.

The Committee have gratefully received a further instalment of the "Publications of the Princeton University Archaeological Expeditions to Syria in 1904, 1905 and 1909." That now received is Section A, Part 5, Southern Syria: "Haurân Plain and Djebel Haurân," including the *Ancient Architecture* and the *Greek and Latin Inscriptions*.

The Architecture, as in previous issues, has been described and illustrated by Mr. Howard Crosby Butler, and *The Inscriptions*

edited and translated by Messrs. Enno Littmann, David Magie, Jr., and Duane Reed Stuart. This volume, like its predecessors, is noticeable for its careful preparation and its numerous and clear illustrations, which are, as in previous volumes, creditable to Mr. Howard C. Butler's industry and judgment, whose restorations also seem to be the result of thoughtful study and of the experience gained during the several expeditions. The text also is simple and explanatory, although, in some cases, he has made use of descriptive expressions which are not quite appropriate to the object. Thus, to apply the word "maeander" to a fret or "key" ornament which consists exclusively of rectangular forms is misleading, for it implies continuous curves, not angles. The term "trim" also, as applied to window dressings or architraves, is not familiar in England.

The first impression derived from the inspection of this volume is that, in the more important buildings at least, there is a more lavish use of carved detail, and that of a more refined character than in the buildings illustrated in "Northern Syria." The carving in the Tychaion at Is-Sanamên, or in the Temple at Slêm, has much of the quality and elaboration of that of the so-called Temple of Jupiter at Baalbek, with which it is probably coeval. It is to be regretted that Mr. Butler has not stated in *what* stone these are executed. Elsewhere he mentions only black basalt; but it seems incredible that this fine detail could be worked in that rather unmanageable material; and the sections of mouldings shown of those buildings are also more refined than it would seem to allow. The architecture of these, and of the Temple at Kanawât, is of the second century A.D., and it may be noted that in the latter the cornice mouldings carried round the arch form a marked feature of the design, as in the well-known gateway of the Temple Enclosure at Damascus. The Kanawât Temple is dated (A.D. 191).

Besides the residential buildings in the district under consideration, there occur many of the mausoleum type—tombs, towers, and fortresses; and it is fortunate that, in so many instances, inscriptions bearing the dates of their construction remain, affording valuable archaeological evidence. These dates range from the first to the fifth centuries of our era. Of the houses or villas, some are evidently the residences of rich or important persons, and in general characteristics do not differ materially from those further north described in former parts issued as the result of these expeditions.

One of the most important of these villas is that at Djemerrin, in which a feature is what the author describes as "shade-stones," slabs set edgeways over the windows. These occur also in a house at Mu'arribeh. It would be interesting to know whether any metal hooks or fastenings are indicated under these, as provisions for some form of awning.

It is not possible to notice all the many points of interest in this remarkable series of ruins. The photographs make it clear that the masonry has been disintegrated by shocks of earthquake; and these may have been one serious cause of the changes in the habitable condition of this volcanic region by affecting the water supplies, or at any rate by shattering the means of water storage. But, in more recent times, here as elsewhere, the buildings of the past form the quarries of the present, and there is ample evidence that buildings which existed even a century ago now exist only as the material of modern dwellings.

In this connexion Mr. Butler mentions one fact which is at once unexpected and to the good. The Druses have, it appears, a certain respect for inscribed stones. They make use of them as building material, but insert them with the inscribed face outwards, even if upside down. Thus they can at least be copied, and although removed from their original sites, often at some distance, they are not altogether lost. Many are now found in positions different from those in which they were found by previous explorers. The inscriptions given number 165, and their editors have evidently expended great care in reading them and collating them with the work of previous epigraphists. In every case the variations of reading or the filling of lacunae is carefully noted, with the author of each quoted. The shape and position of each inscribed stone is given, also references to other examples of the use of uncommon names or phrases. In fact, the editors of these inscriptions have done their work in a scholarly and thorough manner, enabling the student to compare their own renderings with the suggestions made by other authors.

The Princeton University may be heartily congratulated on the scholarship, industry and thoroughness with which the work of these expeditions to Syria have been carried out.

J. D. C.

24*th November*, 1915.

The *Revue Biblique*, July, 1914. Father Dhorme concludes his study of "The Language of Canaan," based upon the glosses and other evidence in the Amarna letters (see *Revue Biblique*, 1913, pp. 369 *sqq.*; 1914, pp. 37 *sqq.*). Although the cuneiform script and the Babylonian language were known throughout Western Asia, the native dialects naturally flourished, as is proved by a number of evidences (place names, etc.). But we have no early examples of their precise character, and consequently the Amarna letters are a most valuable source of information. Father Dhorme concludes: "Avec les rares survivances qu'on peut retrouver dans l'hébreu des massorètes, avec les inscriptions de Moab, de Phénicie, de Chypre ou de Carthage, les lettres d'el-Amarna sont les documents les plus précieux pour l'histoire de la grammaire hébraique. C'est à ce titre qu'elles méritaient d'être dépouilleés non plus seulement comme des textes historiques ou géographiques, mais comme des témoins philologiques de premier ordre." Father Vincent gives a long summary entitled: "Gezer and the Archaeology of Palestine after Six Years of Excavations" (pp. 373–291; Oct., pp. 504–522)—the reference is to Prof. R. A. S. Macalister's "three magnificent volumes" which he carefully discusses. His survey requires a fuller consideration than can be given at this moment. He also contributes (1) Some "Archaeological gleanings" from Jerusalem (Byzantine and Arab Canal-works, Ancient Remains in the Ḥaret el-Magharbeh, Byzantine Mosaic at el-Baṭn), and (2) a short notice of a Canaanite Hypogaeon at Bethany. Gaston Migeon describes the noteworthy Paintings at Keseir Amra. In the October issue, A. Plassart describes the Jewish Synagogue at Delos, and R. P. A. Decloedt writes on the Greek and Byzantine weights in the Biblical Museum of Sainte-Anne. Father Abel gives a lengthy and valuable article on the Palestinian Littoral and its Ports. With the outbreak of war the Dominican professors left for France, the School was officially closed by the Turkish authorities—rumour has it that it is used as a barracks—and the management of the *Revue* was moved to Paris. The January and April numbers of 1915 appeared in one. The longest article, and the one of most general interest for Palestine, is the discussion by J. Touzard: "The Jews in the time of the Persian Period"; it is a detailed study of the historical value of the biblical sources (Ezra-Nehemiah, with the "apocryphal" I Esdras). It is well known that these present many grave difficulties which have sorely perplexed scholars of all kinds, and

this new contribution has much that is suggestive. Very pathetic is the sketch by the Venerable Father Lagrange, in which, after referring to the keenly awaited celebration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the "École Biblique" (15th November, 1915), he tells us of the aims and achievements of the institution. Few know of the really solid work which Father Lagrange and his circle have accomplished. His own book on the Semitic Religions is indispensable for all who would understand the background of Old Testament religion; and though it differs in many important points from Robertson Smith's great work, *The Religion of the Semites*, it is quite as necessary for the subject. As for Father Vincent's *Canaan*, there is no need to point out how the archaeology of Palestine was focussed and co-ordinated at a stroke by this one volume. Nor need one refer to the other achievements by these scholars and their colleagues; it is enough to recognize the indebtedness of Oriental, Palestinian and Biblical research to the labours of the "École Biblique," and to wait with confidence the day when it will reopen, and the *Revue Biblique* will once more be a message from Palestinian soil. Father Lagrange closes his survey with words which will find an echo: "l'École pratique d'études bibliques a été fermée parce que française, elle renaîtra française." In the double number, July–October, 1915, Étienne Michon writes on: "Rebords de bassins chrétiens ornés de reliefs." Father Jaussen, on the way to Aden, was able to copy a few Sabaean inscriptions; and we learn that "Sergeant Dhorme," out in Gallipoli, has been directing excavations on the site of the ancient Eleonta under constant fire, and for his bravery and perseverance received honourable mention in the orders of the day. Father Abel, who has been serving as *brancardier* on the French front, has been wounded in his right hand, but there are hopes that he will be able to write, if not also to continue those plans and sketches which always made his geographical and architectural work so illuminating.

Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins, 1914, Vol. XXXVII. Among the articles may be mentioned Dr. Kühtreiber's account of his Journeyings in Palestine; Dr. Mader on Megalithic monuments in the West Jordan; Dr. Schumacher on the Work in East Jordan; Archaeological summaries, by Dr. Thiersch; Palestinian pottery in North German museums (Berlin, Mayence and Bonn), by Drs. Wigand and Watzinger; the Climate of Palestine from the old Hebrew sources, by Dr. Hugo Klein; the pottery of the peasant women

of Rāmallah and environs, by Mme. Lydia Einsler (Schick). Dr. Thiersch's archaeological notes in Part I are especially important. As is well known he holds that excavators have been only too ready to see "religious" or "sacred" remains everywhere. In arguing against this tendency he tends to go to the other extreme, and his strictures should be checked by the more moderate estimate of Vincent, *Rev. Bibl.*, 1914, p. 519 *seq.* It is even urged that the Gezer "high place" is really a series of votive-pillars. But the arguments, though very worthy of attention, raise the significant question of what we are to understand by "religion." No one who reads Thiersch's criticisms can fail to see that the question cannot be answered by the archaeological expert only; problems of the nature of early religion are involved, and these are not touched either by the archaeologist Thiersch or by the historian Ed. Meyer (whose opinion is also cited). Here it is appropriate to refer to the *Theologische Literaturzeitung* for 20th December, 1913, where Dr. Hugo Gressmann comments on the "symbolical foundation sacrifices" at Gezer. These are the so-called "lamp and bowl" deposits, and Gressmann conjectures that they are apotropaic, their object being to ward off demons. Since, later, we find lamps with the legend "Christ is my light," or "the light of Christ shines for all" (*cf. Q.S.*, April, 1905, p. 164), it is possible that more positive religious ideas were associated with the earlier usage. This, however, is conjectural. Gressmann points out that the Assyrian Nusku, well known in magical incantations, was symbolized by a lamp, and this may be supplemented by the remarks of the present reviewer, *Religion of Ancient Palestine*, p. 93 *seq.*, who notes the points of contact between Nusku, Nergal, Melek, and El. That Nergal was known in Palestine appears from a Taanach seal which describes its owner as "servant of Nergal." He was a solar fire-god and ruler of Hades, and can be connected with the Phoenician El, the god to whom children were sacrificed. In the Old Testament these grim sacrifices belong to Molech (Melek), but there are independent reasons for the view that the latter was the true name of the Phoenician El. Thus, although the evidence is not direct, the old theory still remains possible, that the lamp and bowl offerings go back to an original foundation sacrifice (*cf.* above, p. 29, foot); the ideas of light and life are closely interconnected, *cf.*, for example, 2 Samuel xiv, 7.

S. A. C.

TRANSLITERATION OF HEBREW AND ARABIC CONSONANTS.

HEBREW.

Hebrew.	English.	Hebrew.	English.
א	’	כ ך	kh
ב ּ	b	ל	l
ב	bh	מ ם	m
ג	g	נ ן	n
ג	gh	ס	s
ד	d	ע	‘
ד	dh	פ ּ	p
ה	h	פ	f
ו	v, w	צ ץ	z
ז	z	ק	k
ח	h	ר	r
ט	t	שׁ	sh
י	y	שׂ	s
כ	k	ת ּ	t
		ת	th

ARABIC.

Arabic.	English.		Arabic.	English.
ا	’		ض	d
ب	b		ط	t
ت	t		ظ	tz
ث	th		ع	‘
ج	g	or j in Syrian Arabic.	غ	gh
ح	h		ف	f
خ	kh		ق	k
د	d		ك	k
ذ	dh		ل	l
ر	r		م	m
ز	z		ن	n
س	s		ه	h
ش	sh		و	w
ص	z		ي	y

Long vowels marked thus :—ā, ē, ī, ō, ū.

THE

PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND.

NOTES AND NEWS.

DIED

On the 15th March, 1916,

COLONEL SIR CHARLES M. WATSON,

K.C.M.G., C.B., M.A., R.E., &c.,

Knight of Grace of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem,

CHAIRMAN OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

Subscribers will learn with infinite regret that Sir Charles Moore Watson, Chairman of the Executive Committee for the past ten years, died on March 15th of heart failure following bronchitis. So brief was his illness that none of the Committee, nor of his intimate friends, knew that he was ailing until the sad news reached them that he was no more.

A short Memoir will be found in these pages; but we may here allude to the almost daily attention which he gave to the affairs of this Society, to the variety and value of his attainments, and, above all, to the charm of his personality, and his invariable courtesy and kindness. His loss to this Society is a grave misfortune; to the Committee it is a grief.

Owing to the unexpected death of the Chairman it has been impossible to make arrangements for the Annual General Meeting in time for the publication of this number of the *Quarterly Statement*.

An announcement will be made in May; or subscribers who wish to attend will receive cards by making an application after May 15th.

Some idea of the internal conditions in Palestine at the present time can be gained from an account published in the *Morning Post* of the 14th March, from that paper's correspondent at Alexandria. Writing under date of the 28th February, it states that the Mount of Olives has been fortified, and is said to have been rendered impregnable. "The economic situation of the country is deplorable. The American Relief Fund is doing its utmost to cope with the distress, and in Jerusalem alone 40,000 people have daily rations doled out to them by this Fund. As it is impossible to export the oranges they have rotted on the trees. The villages are deserted, as the manhood of the country has either been forced to join the army or is at work on the military roads. Public executions are frequent. At Jaffa, Aly Hamis, the chief boatman of Cook's and the Kavas of the American Consulate, who is well known to all tourists in Palestine, has been hanged on a charge of espionage for the cause of the British. A similar fate has befallen Mahmoud Effendi, the Mamour of the Passport Office, and formerly in the service of the Khedivial Mail Line, while Mr. Emil Knesevich, the young son of the British Consular Agent at Jaffa, was only saved from a similar fate by the intervention of Dr. Glazebrook, the American Consul at Jerusalem. He was accused of having received letters from his father, a refugee in Egypt."

The Rev. George Adam Smith has kindly presented to the Library of the Fund a copy of his admirable Atlas of the Historical Geography of the Holy Land, published by Messrs. Hodder and Stoughton. This work, which is by far the best collection of maps of the Bible Lands that has yet appeared, should be on the table of every Biblical student. The maps, sixty in number, are divided into four parts, namely:—1. Bible Lands; 2. General Maps of Palestine; 3. Palestine at particular periods in the history of Israel; 4. The

Christian Era. The maps are preceded by some most useful historical notes, accompanied by a full list of books dealing with the geography and antiquities of the country, and a set of clearly drawn up Chronological Tables. The maps have been drawn under the direction of Dr. J. G. Bartholomew, of the Edinburgh Geographical Institute, and are executed in a manner that leaves little to be desired.

Fifty Years' Work in the Holy Land: A Record and a Summary, 1865–1915.—Under this title the late Colonel Sir C. M. Watson, K.C.M.G., etc., gave an entirely new revision of that *résumé* of the work of the Fund which has been issued from time to time in order to furnish readers, and—especially—new subscribers with a synoptical account of the more important aims and achievements. Such accounts have been published in 1870, 1872, 1886, and 1895, so that twenty years have passed since the last revision—years during which most valuable excavations have been undertaken, notably at Gezer. Last year being the Jubilee of the Palestine Exploration Fund, a new edition was especially appropriate, and old subscribers as well as new will find that the book by the late Chairman of the Executive Committee gives an admirable bird's-eye view of the work of the Fund. Although space allows the book to provide only the bare outlines of what has been done, the material is so arranged as to include all information necessary to explain the different expeditions and excavations. A map is also appended containing all the important names and sites. Chapters are written on the reason why the P.E.F. was established; the foundation of the Society in 1865; the preliminary reconnaissance of Palestine, 1865–6; the explorations at Jerusalem, 1867–70; the expedition to the Desert of the Exodus, 1869–70; the survey of Western Palestine in 1871–7; the survey of Eastern Palestine in 1881–2; the geological expedition and survey of the Arabah in 1883–4; the excavations at Lachish, Jerusalem, etc. (five chapters), the survey of Southern Palestine in 1913–14; the Palestine Pilgrims' Texts, and a concluding chapter on the administration of the Society. There are two appendices: the chronology of the P.E.F., and the chronology of the publications. The book is published by the Committee of the Fund, and can be had on application to the Assistant Secretary, post free 3*s.* 6*d.*

In drawing attention to the books needed for the Library of the Fund, we may mention especially Lagarde's *Onomastica Sacra* (2nd ed., 1887), and the *Antonine Itinerary*. An edition of the latter by Parthey and Pindar was published at Berlin in 1847, see below, p. 59.

The New Survey: Double Annual for 1914–15.—The material resulting from the Survey of the Southern Country ("The Desert of the Wanderings") in the early part of 1914 proved to be more voluminous and more complete than could have been anticipated, seeing how short a time was available, owing to climate and other considerations. The whole Survey party must have worked with an energy and industry exceeding that of any previous expedition, notwithstanding the unusual difficulties which beset them from the nature of the country. The notes and descriptions of the various localities included are full and careful, and Messrs. Woolley and Lawrence are to be congratulated on having made them vivid and interesting, and on having secured so many and characteristic photographic illustrations as well as plans. The few inscriptions collected have been examined and carefully analysed by Mr. Marcus Tod, of Oxford. They are all personal memorials but afford some exact dates.

Altogether the amount of material largely exceeds what should suffice for a double volume of the *Annual*—*i.e.*, for two years. But, on careful consideration, the Committee thought that the reasons for publishing the whole together and without undue delay were so strong that they felt compelled to disregard the strictly economical question, so far as subscribers are concerned, and to publish the whole as a double *Annual* for the years 1914–15.

The reasons for this course were:—

1. That the region is one which so greatly interests all Bible students.
2. That it has never previously been surveyed or systematically examined.
3. That it may never again be so thoroughly examined and reported on.
4. That the disturbed condition of all Europe makes it improbable that any work of excavation can be undertaken for the present.

The price of the book to the public outside the Society is 45*s*.

An account of the *Annual* will be found in the April issue of the *Q.S.*, 1915, pp. 61–63.

The Committee are bringing out a new edition of the ($\frac{3}{8}$ in. to the mile) Map of Western Palestine, of which the original edition has been for some time out of print. It is in six sheets, and will be, primarily, a travellers' map. The roads and railways constructed since the original survey have been added. For the sake of clearness, only the modern names are given. The hill shading is in a lighter tint for the same reason. All the country beyond that actually surveyed is shown in outline only. In a few years it may be possible to add much of this in a further edition. In the meantime, this is the clearest map and the easiest to consult of any yet issued by the Society. The price of the complete six sheets will be 7*s.* 6*d.* If desired, the map can be mounted on linen and a roller, or to fold. It will be ready for issue when the war permits.

The Library of the Palestine Exploration Fund contains many duplicate volumes, including standard works by Robinson, Ritter, Stanley and others. They may be had separately, and a list, with the price of each volume, has been prepared, and can be obtained on application.

The Index to the *Quarterly Statements* previously published included the years from 1869 to 1892, and the need for its continuation to a more recent date has been greatly felt. Some of the most important of the discoveries and work of the Palestine Exploration Fund belong to later years. Such are the excavations of sites on and around Ophel, by Messrs. Bliss and Dickie, in the Shephelah, by Messrs. Bliss and Macalister, and the great work at Gezer, by Prof. Stewart Macalister, besides many valuable papers and discussions on the sites in Jerusalem and elsewhere. During the year 1911, the Committee decided to supplement the old Index by one which should include the completion of the work at Gezer, that is to say, from 1893 to 1910. The laborious task was undertaken by Mr. (now Prof.) Dickie, whose familiarity with the matter dealt with, and conscientious exactitude, have now enabled the Committee to publish it with confidence. Price in cloth, 5*s.*; unbound, 3*s.* 6*d.*

The Committee will be glad to communicate with ladies and gentlemen willing to help the Fund as Honorary Secretaries.

Plaster casts of the raised contour maps (large and small) of Jerusalem have been prepared and can now be had on application. The horizontal scale of the large map is $\frac{1}{2500}$ and the total dimensions are 5 feet by 4 feet 3 inches. The remains of the city walls and streets discovered on the Eastern and Western Hills are indicated in red lines. This map will be a most valuable help to the study of Jerusalem topography. Price £3 3*s*. Case and packing extra. The scale of the smaller map is $\frac{1}{10000}$ and the size 20 inches square. Price without addition of early walls and streets £1 5*s*.

A new and improved edition of the large photo relief map of Palestine (5 miles = 1 inch) is now ready. Price 6*s*. 9*d*. unmounted. Mounted on cloth, roller, and varnished, 10*s*. 6*d*. Size, mounted, 30 inches by 52 inches.

It may be well to mention that plans and photographs alluded to in the reports from Jerusalem and elsewhere cannot all be published, but they are preserved in the office of the Fund, where they may be seen by subscribers.

Subscribers who have not yet paid will greatly facilitate the Committee's efforts by sending in their subscriptions without further delay, and thus save the expense of sending out reminders.

Subscribers to the Fund are reminded that, whilst the receipt of every subscription and contribution is promptly acknowledged by the Assistant Secretary, they are now published annually. A complete List of Subscribers and Subscriptions for 1915 is given in the Annual Report published with this number.

Golgotha and the Holy Sepulchre, the last work of the late Major-General Sir Charles Wilson, K.C.B., K.C.M.G., F.R.S., D.C.L., LL.D., etc. In this work the late Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Palestine Exploration Fund has brought together for the first time all the evidence which the most exhaustive research enabled him to collect bearing on the subject of these Holy

Sites; and probably no man living had at once so intimate a knowledge of all investigations in the modern Jerusalem and so complete an acquaintance with what has been written about the Sites from the time of Constantine onwards. The price of the work (demy 8vo) is 6*s.*, by post 6*s.* 4*d.*

A reprint of *Names and Places in the Old and New Testaments*, by the late Mr. George Armstrong, is now on sale, price 6*s.* The book was out of print for some years.

A complete set of the *Quarterly Statements*, 1869-1910, containing some of the early letters (now scarce), with an Index, 1869-1910, bound in the Palestine Exploration Fund cases, can be had. Price on application to the Secretary, 2, Hinde Street, Manchester Square, W.

The price of a complete set of the translations published by the Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society, in 13 volumes, with general index, bound in cloth, is £10 10*s.* A catalogue describing the contents of each volume can be had on application to the Secretary, 2, Hinde Street, Manchester Square, W.

Photographs of the late Dr. Schick's models (1) of the Temple of Solomon, (2) of the Herodian Temple, (3) of the Haram Area and Justinian's Church, and (4) of the Haram Area as it is at present, have been received at the office of the Fund. The four photographs, with an explanation by Dr. Schick, can be purchased by applying to the Secretary, 2, Hinde Street, Manchester Square, W.

The Museum at the office of the Fund, 2, Hinde Street, Manchester Square, W., is open to visitors every week-day from 10 o'clock till 5, except Saturdays, when it is closed at 1 p.m.

Subscribers in U.S.A. to the work of the Fund will please note that they can procure copies of any of the publications from the Rev. Prof. Lewis B. Paton, Ph.D., Honorary General Secretary to the Fund, 50, Forest Street, Hartford, Conn.

The Committee have to acknowledge with thanks, among other journals and books, the following:—

The Society of Biblical Archæology. Vol. XXXVII, Part 7, Adam and Sargon in the Land of the Hittites; and. Vol. XXXVIII, Part 1. The Land of Nod, by Prof. Sayce; Part 2, Samaritan Phylacteries and Amulets, by Dr. Gaster.

The Egyptian Origin of the Semitic Alphabet, by A. H. Gardiner, D.Litt. ; and *The Origin of the Semitic Alphabet*, by A. E. Cowley, D.Litt. (Reprinted from *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, January, 1916.)

The Expository Times, January, 1916 : The Sumerian Epic of the Fall of Man, by Dr. Stephen Langdon.

Studies : An Irish Quarterly Review of Letters, Philosophy and Science, March, 1916.

The Scottish Geographical Magazine, February, 1916 : Babylon and Babylonia : A Review ; The Caliph's last heritage : a Review.

The Jewish Quarterly Review, January, 1916 : Pygmy-legends in Jewish Literature, by Dr. Solomon Hurwitz.

The American Journal of Archaeology, October–December, 1915.

The Biblical World.

The Homiletic Review.

Index to the Publications of the Canadian Institute, 1852–1912.

Art and Archaeology, Vol. III, Part 1 : The Seven Wonders of the Ancient World (*illustrated*), by E. J. Banks, etc., etc.

Journal Asiatique, 1914 : Monuments et histoire de la période comprise entre la fin de la XII[e] dynastie et la restauration thébaïne (*concluded*), by M. R. Weill.

Sphinx, Vol. XIX, fasc. III.

Di Tribune, (Copenhagen).

The Committee will be glad to receive donations of Books to the Library of the Fund, which already contains many works of great value relating to Palestine and other Bible lands.

The Committee desire to acknowledge with thanks the following contributions to the Library :—

From the Author :—

The Ancient Weights of Britain. By Wilfred Airy, B.A., M.Inst.C.E.

From Charles C. Walker, Esq. :—

Palestine and the Powers. By Frank G. Jannaway.

The Committee will be grateful to any subscribers who may be disposed to present to the Library any of the following books :—

Duc de Luynes, *Voyage à la Mer Morte* (1864) ; published about 1874.

K. von Raumer, *Der Zug der Israeliten.* (Leipzig, 1837.)

L. de Laborde, *Voyage de l'Arabie Pétrée* (1829).

Lagarde, *Onomastica Sacra* (1887).

The Antonine Itinerary—an edition by Parthey and Pindar was published in 1847 at Berlin. An edition in Russian is also extant, but is therefore not available save to the few who know that language.

For list of authorized lecturers and their subjects, see end of the Journal, or write to the Secretary.

Whilst desiring to give publicity to proposed identifications and other theories advanced by officers of the Fund and contributors to the pages of the *Quarterly Statement*, the Committee wish it to be distinctly understood that by publishing them in the *Quarterly Statement* they do not necessarily sanction or adopt them.

FORM OF BEQUEST TO THE PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND.

I give to the Palestine Exploration Fund, London, the sum of to be applied towards the General Work of the Fund; and I direct that the said sum be paid, free of Legacy Duty, and that the Receipt of the Treasurer of the Palestine Exploration Fund shall be a sufficient discharge for the same.

NOTE.—*Three Witnesses are necessary to a Will by the Law of the United States of America, and Two by the Law of the United Kingdom.*

COLONEL SIR CHARLES MOORE WATSON, K.C.M.G., C.B., M.A., R.E.

On Wednesday, the 15th March, a most unexpected calamity befell the Palestine Exploration Fund in the death of Colonel Sir Charles Moore Watson, Chairman of the Executive Committee. During the last ten years, his able guidance, his wide knowledge, and his personal charm have been invaluable to the Society, and endeared him to all those who in any way shared his work, or were brought into frequent contact with him. He was, indeed, an ideal Chairman: fair minded, so that he would always encourage the expression of opinions differing from his own; with an experience and knowledge which gave exceptional value to his views; ready at all times to give his time and attention to any subject which bore on the interests of the Society, he combined with these an invariable kindly courtesy which made all men his friends.

His distinguished military career has been well summarised in an obituary notice which appeared in *The Times* the day after his death, and from this we cannot do better than quote.

The notice begins by describing him as "the friend and lieutenant of General Gordon, and the daring captor of the Citadel of Cairo after the battle of Tel el-Kebir."

"Born in Dublin on July 10th, 1844, he was the son of William Watson, a well-known civil engineer. After distinguishing himself at Trinity College, Dublin, in French, German, and mathematics, he entered Woolwich first in the list in 1863, and passed out in 1865 still at the top. In the next year he took his B.A. degree at Dublin, and was commissioned lieutenant in the Royal Engineers. He soon devoted himself to submarine mining, and in 1871 was appointed to the first Submarine Company of Royal Engineers formed at Chatham. He also prepared a scheme of equipment for military balloons for the Ashanti War, which, although not taken up, led some years later to the building of the first military balloon, 'The Pioneer.'

"In 1874 General Gordon, who when commanding at Gravesend had noticed young Watson, invited him to join him in the Sudan for survey work, and the friendship between the two was cemented for life. Watson, however, was unable to bear the climate, and after surveying the White Nile to Gondokoro was invalided home in May, 1875.

[To face p. 60

COLONEL SIR CHARLES MOORE WATSON,

K.C.M.G., C.B., M.A., R.E.

"For the next seven years he was working at the War Office under the Inspector-General of Fortifications, largely occupied with plans for the defence of London. He was secretary of the Siege Operations Committee and visited Brest and Cherbourg and other French fortresses, receiving the thanks of the Secretary of War for his reports.

"Capture of Cairo Citadel.

"When the Egyptian Expedition went out in August, 1882, Captain Watson was appointed to the Intelligence Department of the Army with the rank of D.A.Q.M.G. When Sir Garnet Wolseley, immediately after the capture of the lines at Tel el-Kebir, on September 13th, 1882, ordered General Drury Lowe to advance on Cairo, Watson was directed to lead the advance column. He brought them successfully to Bilbeis, where General Lowe and Colonel Herbert Stewart soon joined them, having left the heavy brigade and horse artillery in difficulties with the numerous canals. Without waiting for them General Lowe decided to push on with only 1,200 men. They set out on the 30-mile ride to Cairo early on September 14th, and came in sight of the city in the afternoon.

"Watson had warned the general and Stewart of the danger that Cairo might be burned, and pointed out the importance of seizing the Citadel that evening. Accordingly, after the amazing scene at Abbasiya was over and 10,000 Egyptian troops had laid down their arms before a thousand British cavalry, Colonel Stewart sent Watson in command of scarcely 150 officers and men of the 4th Dragoon Guards and mounted infantry to take the Citadel, which was known to be strongly garrisoned. They set out in the dark and presented themselves by an unfrequented road at the Citadel gate. There Watson coolly ordered the officer of the guard to fetch the commandant, and when he came he was told to parade the garrison and march them out to Kasr en-Nil Barracks.

"This audacious command was instantly obeyed. The keys were at once surrendered, bugles were soon heard sounding the 'Assembly,' and while the few English troops were kept in the dark near the upper gate to conceal their scanty numbers, 6,000 Egyptian soldiers marched out of the lower gate for more than two hours, falling in by companies and 'marching off as if they were quite accustomed to being roused up in the middle of the night and turned out by foreign troops.'

"Next month Watson returned to England with a brevet majority and the Order of the Medjidieh, only to be sent back to Egypt in January, 1883, at the request of Sir Evelyn Wood to assist in creating an Egyptian Army, with the rank of Miralai (colonel) and the office of Surveyor-General. During Wood's absence up the Nile in the campaign of 1884, Watson reluctantly remained at Cairo as Acting Sirdar. In 1885 he was decorated with the Osmanieh and promoted to be Pasha (major-general) in the Egyptian Army, and in 1886 he was for six months at Suakin as Governor-General of the Red Sea *Littoral*.

"In 1889 he was absorbed into the Inspector of Fortifications Department at the War Office, where he was told off to manage the building of barracks. For this purpose he visited Germany to study the barrack system there. In 1902 he retired from the Army under the age clause, and was made a C.B. Since then his chief official work was the organizing of the British Section of the St. Louis International Exhibition of 1904, which brought him his K.C.M.G. He travelled much, sometimes as British Delegate to the International Navigation Congresses, and he was always accompanied by his wife (whom he married in 1880), a daughter of the Rev. Russell Cook and granddaughter of the scholar, Dr. Cesar Malan, of Geneva. Sir Charles was a great supporter of the Royal Geographical Society, the Palestine Exploration Fund, and the Order of St. John, of whose Ophthalmic Hospital at Jerusalem he was chairman.

"Watson's most important publication was the 'Life of Major-General Sir C. M. Wilson,' a brother officer and personal friend, in which he gives a reasoned defence of Wilson's conduct of the Gordon Relief Expedition.[1] Watson had been the last to see Gordon off from Cairo in January, 1884. One of Gordon's last letters (December 14, 1885) was addressed to him in Cairo, and the victim of Khartoum had no stancher friend or advocate. Among his other works was 'British Weights and Measures,' 1910, in opposition to the metric system, and an able pamphlet in support of 'Universal Service for Home Defence,' 1909."

[1] Attempts were made by the authorities to put upon General Wilson the responsibility of the failure to save Gordon; but it is now well known that this was due to the delay and hesitation of the Home Government for months after the need arose. Wilson's attempt at the last, with a handful of men in a rickety river steamer, was a dangerous forlorn hope, and "too late."

Subscribers to the Palestine Exploration Fund will know of his frequent contributions to the *Quarterly Statement*, and of his admirable summary of the work of the Fund, published last year, under the title of "Fifty Years' Work."

He also published (Dent and Sons), in 1912, illustrated by Lady Watson, an excellent little handbook of Jerusalem, for the use of the modern traveller.

Besides the close attention which he gave to the affairs of the Fund, Sir Charles gave many lectures in all parts of London and the provinces as a means of making its work and objects more widely known. His first visit to Palestine was paid early in 1891, and in the same and following years he was lecturing on "the Holy Land," "Jerusalem," and "Palestine Exploration," in Dublin, Manchester, Oldham, Salisbury, etc., as well as in various London or Suburban districts, and this in addition to lectures on other subjects which interested him, such as "Old and New London," "The Order of St. John of Jerusalem," and, in 1903, on "Universal Service in the Army," of which he was a strong advocate.

Among the qualifications which Sir Charles Watson brought to the service of the Fund was that of being a good linguist. He had a thorough knowledge of French, German, and especially Arabic, all of which were most useful to the Society; and his acquaintance with all the details of surveying no less so. In all his work, of whatever kind, he brought to bear a perfect habit of *method* and *order*; so that, while his interests were many, there was no confusion between them. Without any appearance of haste he accomplished an amount of work and of reading that was surprising to those who were aware of it; and a clear mind and a good memory added to its value.

Sir Charles Watson's death came as a shock to his many friends. He seemed to be in the midst of his activities, but an attack of bronchitis of but two or three days' duration was followed by heart failure, and the end came before his friends knew that he was ill. He was buried on Saturday, March 18th, at Putney Vale, after a service in St. Paul's Church, Wilton Place, where a guard of the 5th Battalion of Grenadier Guards lined the aisle. The Union Jack which covered the coffin was last used on the occasion of the funeral of F.M. Lord Roberts. The Treasurer, the Hon. Secretary, and some members of the Committee represented the Palestine Exploration Fund among a large congregation of friends.

J. D. C.

OCCASIONAL PAPERS ON THE MODERN INHABITANTS OF PALESTINE.

By Dr. E. W. G. Masterman and Prof. R. A. S. Macalister.

Tales of Welys and Dervishes.

(*Continued from Q.S.*, 1916, *p.* 19.)

(*d*) *Another Story about the Makām of the Sultān Badr.*

One day some goats belonging to the descendants of Sultān Badr were stolen, and, after investigation, it was found that the robbers were from the Awlād el-Zaghāreh of the people of Jerash. The owner went there and asked for the return of his goats, but the people denied them, and said they had no goats of his. At last he demanded that they should take an oath upon Sultān Badr, which they agreed to do the next Friday. On that day they assembled at Deir esh-Sheikh. There were present at the same time some people from Deir Eyyūb, who had been compelled to come and swear at the makām that they had not taken some cattle, a theft of which they were accused. While there, these people asked the sheikh of the makām to persuade their accusers to accept twenty majīdis and to let them off from taking the oath. The sheikh replied: "I do not interfere in these affairs; you had better make terms with those you have robbed and make restitution." Meanwhile the people of Jerash had boldly entered the shrine, taken the oath, and gone away. When the people of Deir Eyyūb saw these people, who they were sure had stolen the goats of Sultān Badr, take the oath with impunity, even adding after the oath, "Let your grandfather (*i.e.*, Sultān Badr), bring back to you the goats which have been stolen," they grew bold. They said to each other, "We have not robbed anything from the wely. Let us enter the makām and take the oaths and pay nothing. If the wely had any power it would have been shown against those who have robbed him of his property before they left the makām." After that they all came together to the makām, and one of the robbers asked the sheikh to open the door. He replied: "I do not open the door; you

open it and enter in and make your oath." The man opened the door and entered, and as he passed the threshold a snake leapt upon him and bit him on the ear. And he at once began to tremble and fell to the ground, and blood poured from his mouth and nose, and blood poured from him, and they carried him out dead from the door of the wely.

But, as the people of Jerash were returning home, one of their number stopped by the road side (لاجل يشخ), and God brought upon him a serpent, which bit him so that he died at once, and his companions buried him there as he lay. And the next year, as his brother was passing the same spot, having turned aside from the road to view his brother's grave, suddenly a serpent went between his legs and bit him in the groin (في حاشمة) so that he died immediately. It was commonly reported that this was the same serpent that had killed the other brother the year before. After he had laid some time by the roadside, some camel-drivers discovered him with the snake still clinging to him. The snake, however, made off on their approach, and the camel-men carried him on a camel to his village, and when they put him down his bowels burst, and they buried him in his uncleanness[1] without being washed.

(*e*) *Another Story of the Makām of Sultān Badr.*

One day a man called Mahmud, of the village of Zakariyeh, had some property—clothes and ornaments of his wife—stolen from his house. In consequence, there was a quarrel between him and his fellow villagers, as Mahmūd accused them of the theft. At length when Mahmūd was about to lay the affair before the government a man came to him and said: "O Mahmud! do not bring harm upon these people; the robber of your wife's property is your own father." Mahmud was greatly taken aback, and said to himself: "It is incredible that a father should rob his own son's house." The informer repeated again: "Your father is the robber and the stolen goods he has deposited with Muhammad Mustapha, with whom they now are." Mahmūd went to his father and said: "Shall I bring the people into danger when you really are the robber." His father began to swear by God that he had stolen nothing, and added that the real thief and mischief maker was the man who had acted as

[1] *I.e.*, without the ceremonial washing prescribed by the religion.

informer. The son, however, was now convinced that his father was the real culprit, while the people whom he had accused said: "If you want us to take an oath you must make your father take one at the same time." So the son at last took courage to ask his father and Muhammad Mustapha to take a solemn oath of innocence at the maḳām of Sultān Badr at Deir esh-Sheikh. They went therefore on Friday to Deir esh-Sheikh. In the maḳām was a box of candles for the people who made vows of offerings, and when they came to enter the shrine, all these candles were lighted supernaturally. Then the sheikh—the servant of the maḳām—exclaimed: "Do not swear, because your oath has been proved false already," and they all departed. But the father of Maḥmūd, on reaching Zakarīyeh, fell ill with a fever and died; and Muḥammad Mustapha got his hands and feet paralysed; and Muḥammad Mustapha is still living, but he can do nothing with his hands, because the fingers are contracted into the palms; and the toes of his feet are also deformed. This affair is known to everybody.

(*f*) *Another Story of the Maḳām of Sultān Badr.*

In the maḳām of Sultān Badr is a servant called Sheikh Muḥammad—a descendant of Sultān Badr. He is a man of kindly disposition, living in close communion with Allah on account of his good and pure deeds. He is a dervish and has taken powers from the four sects of dervishes, namely:—

(1) The way of Rafāie'h (الرفاعي).

(2) The way of Edusūkeh (الدسوقي).

(3) The way of Aḥmed el-Bedawē (احمد البدوي).

(4) The way of Sultān abd el-Ḳādr (السلطان عبد القادر).

Sheikh Muḥammad belongs to all four sects, but does not make open profession of any of them.

One day, some dozen years ago, there were two brothers belonging to the village of Welajeh, working on the railway line near Deir esh-Sheikh. Their father was of great age, and their names were el-Hajj Khalīl the elder and 'Ali the younger. One night, the old father when asleep, saw in a dream three men on horseback. One of these, who wore a green turban, said to him: "Peace be to thee," and when he heard these words the old man rose up in great fear, and the wearer of the green turban asked him about 'Ali and

said: "Fear not, because thy road is white (*i.e.*, lucky), and what is on the mind of thy son is guarded." The old man rose up to invite them to be his guests, and to ask them from whence they came; but when he was on his feet, lo, they had disappeared! And he remained sleepless till morning, thinking over the vision. In the morning when his son Khalīl came to see him he narrated to him all that had happened. And Khalīl said: "It is not desirable that thou speak about the affair. These are holy people and thou wilt not see them again. God preserve us from the vision!" And he left his father and went to work. Soon after this his brother 'Ali was at work with the other workmen when he suddenly put his hands to his head, exclaiming, "Oh my head!" and he leaned against a wall without saying another word. And his brother and the other workmen asked him what the matter was, but 'Ali was unable to speak and made signs to them to carry him home. But as this was far off they laid him in the shadow of a tree to sleep, and put his cloak over him and went on with their work, but Khalīl stayed by his brother. And presently 'Ali began exclaiming: "By Allah! O my lord, I never spoke, and never met with anyone, and never told my thoughts to anyone." And after a little, he woke up and began to speak and raised his eyes and saw his brother Khalīl, and said: "Alas, carry me to the house, because I am not able to raise my head." And they carried him home and left him there and went away. And in the house he began to speak in an unknown language, and to beckon with his hands, looking about him from side to side. After an hour he slept and remained asleep and alone till his brother returned; and as Khalīl stood at his head he heard him saying: "By Allah, O cursed people, lo, he has come now." Then Khalīl asked him of whom he was speaking and what had happened to him, to which 'Ali replied: "Wait a little because I cannot speak to thee before this multitude." And Khalīl brought water and washed his face and made him coffee to drink. Then 'Ali said: "Tell your father to pay the vow which he made to Sultān Badr. He promised a lamb and thou promised a quarter of a majidi's worth of bakhūr (incense). Why dost thou not pay thy vow?" Khalīl said: "It is true I promised the incense, but of the lamb I, by Allah! know nothing. But to-morrow, Friday, we will take the offering to Sultān Badr and pay our vow." Khalīl at once went to his father and told him all that had happened to 'Ali and about the vow. On the Friday morning all the family of

'Ali, men and women, went with the lamb and about a rotl of bruised corn (حريشة قمح) to the makām of Sultān Badr. They slew the lamb and cooked it with the bruised corn, and ate and distributed it to the people of the village until all were satisfied. And from the blessing of Sultān Badr some of the food and the broth remained. And as they were preparing to depart they asked each other what should they do with the food that was left over: and they put it in a bāteyeh (wooden dish) and gave it to a woman to carry. And as she went out of the gate of the makām with the bāteyeh on her head the dish broke in two with a noise like thunder and all the food in it was spilled out.

And when they returned they found 'Ali sitting up, and they told him all that had happened. And 'Ali said: "You ought to have given all the food that remained over to Sheikh Muhammad, for you are not allowed to remove from the makām what has been vowed to the wely."

After a week 'Ali had a dream, and he heard a voice saying to him, "O 'Ali, my desire towards thee is to make thee a sacred dervish for me," and the utterer of the cry blew in his face and told him that the blow he had received upon his head was a test to try him, and to ascertain whether he could keep a secret or not. And 'Ali rose up from sleep trembling, and cried out: "Allah, Allah, Allah, blessed be His name! There is no God but Allah, and Muhammad is His prophet!" And all the people of the house heard his shout.

From that time he gave up eating, and was constantly weeping, and he began to mutter to himself, and to address someone invisible. Anyone hearing the talking could imagine there were a number of people in conversation. And gradually he grew weaker till he was unable to stand and his fever grew more violent than before. At one time, when he was somewhat recovered, he told Khalīl to put all the people out of the house as he needed to be alone for a certain purpose. When the people who were with him had all gone out, weeping, 'Ali told his brother that he wanted a favour from him which no one else could do. He wanted him to go to Sheikh Muhammad and give him his greetings and tell him how he ('Ali) was. "When he sees you he will know your wishes. Ask him for a *hijāb* [amulet] to give me rest and take away the fever, and I beg him for the sake of his lord Sultān Badr to do this thing." Khalīl went, as his brother asked, and saw Sheikh Muhammad at the makām of Sultān Badr. When the sheikh saw him coming he said: "Khalīl,

why is your expression changed? I trust your coming is for good." He replied: "My lord, I beg you; my brother 'Ali is at the point of death, and sent me to ask you to make him a hijāb."

When the Sheikh Muhammad heard these words he struck his hand to his head exclaiming: "Does it concern 'Ali?" and he remained quiet for half-an-hour, his hand to his head. Then he said to Khalīl "Now stand up and take my salāms (greetings) to your brother and tell him that to-day it is useless to make a hijāb. To-morrow, Friday, come to me after midday prayers, and whatever God arranges will be good." And he returned with this message to 'Ali, whom he found was more ill than before. And the next day Khalīl went to the sheikh, and when he arrived the latter told him to go to the house. Now Khalīl had not eaten for two days because of anxiety about his brother, and when he arrived at the sheikh's house the sheikh asked him: "How is your brother 'Ali now, and what about this blow which happened to him?" And Khalīl told him how the blow had occurred when they were at work, and how 'Ali used to talk to himself and weep, and sometimes become unconscious, and now he had got a fever, and was out of his mind. The sheikh told him not to be afraid. This, he said, is not fever, it is a blow from holy people, only tell me what he says about me." Khalīl replied: "All our desire and hope is that by the will of God and the help of your grandfather he may be cured. Only I beg you to hasten." The sheikh began to make the hijāb, and Khalīl, from long sleeplessness and weariness, fell asleep. When he woke up he found the sheikh just finishing the hijāb. He folded it up, and at each folding he blew upon it, and when he had finished, he blew again upon it and licked it all over. Then he said: "By the life of Allah, by the name of the healer, by the honour of my lord Sultān Badr, and by what is in him secretly (*i.e.*, occult powers) by the power of Allah, the sick man should take this in his hands, and the secret of his power will be manifest to him." And he handed Khalīl the hijāb saying: "When you arrive at home you will find your brother sleeping, and his ṭarbush (*i.e.*, fez) falling sideways on his head. Take his ṭarbūsh and put the hijāb between the labādeh[1] and the ṭarbūsh, and then replace the ṭarbūsh on his head and say: 'For the secret of Sultān Badr.' But now sit down and I will make you food. The food is ready now, as you shall see. I know that

[1] Woollen cap worn as a lining under the ṭarbūsh.

you are very hungry." The sheikh then approached a *bāṭeyeh* which was covered with a tabak (a circular straw mat) and exclaimed, "Stand up, in the name of God, O blessed one," and he took away the cover, and lo, the bāteyeh was full of new bread, hot as if straight from the oven. When Khalīl saw this he was astounded and exclaimed: "Mashallah musārak (how great is your secret), O Sheikh Muhammad." After eating, he paid some money to the sheikh and went away to his brother, whom he found lying as the sheikh had described. He put the hijāb under his ṭarbūsh as he had been told, and when 'Ali at length rose from sleep he asked, how Sheikh Muhammad was, and his brother replied: "He sends you his salāms." Then Khalīl asked his brother: "How are you now?" and he replied: "El-hamdu li-'llah (Praise be to Allah) my burden is loosed and has fallen from me, and now I am at rest. But," he added, "the sheikh told you something, tell it to me." Khalīl replied that the sheikh had told him to take him to his village and there, by the permission of Allah, he would be recovered. And so the next morning Khalīl took 'Ali to his village, Welejeh, and left his mother and sisters to look after him, while he himself returned to his work. One day, a little later, when Khalīl came to visit him, he found 'Ali weeping and he asked him what was the matter. 'Ali replied, "I do not want anything, I do not want anyone to approach me, either man or women, especially women." His mother exclaimed, "By Allah, my son, no one has entered here except myself." And when 'Ali heard that he rose up and said, "May Allah kill the woman. By Allah, you are lying, for such and such a woman (giving her name) came to me, and she was in a state of uncleanness." When Khalīl and his father heard that they said angrily: "It is not necessary that anyone should visit him, not even his mother or his sister, and whoever wants to visit him must express her wishes from outside the house." And 'Ali said to his father, "And you, O my father, if you love your son do him a service, for sometimes I am occupied with the people of Allah, and it is not allowed that women approach me, because it is impossible to be sure which of them are unclean. This plan brings honour to your son as Sheikh Muhammad informed me."

And after this they stopped all people from paying visits to 'Ali. And very soon 'Ali began to improve in health, but from time to time the fever returned, and one day Khalīl saw Sheikh Muhammad and the latter asked about 'Ali. And Khalīl told him how the fever

kept returning and asked if 'Ali should not consult a doctor. When Sheikh Muhammad heard this he got very angry and said: "Oh! Khalīl, don't spoil your mind, because this illness of your brother's is one about which the doctors know nothing. It is sickness due to the pious people, and although you see your brother at the point of death do not take him to the doctors. If you go against this you will lose your brother, and the sin will be upon you. I tell you 'the sin is on your neck.'"

When Khalīl heard this he changed his proposal, and, for a time, 'Ali had recurrent attacks of fever and at last got quite well.[1]

And when he had fully recovered the sheikh came to him and 'Ali kissed his hand and extracted a promise from the sheikh that he should become a dervish. The sheikh promised that this should be done at the beginning of the next month, and he made him promise not to reveal the secret and to hide from all that he was a dervish.

After the death of Sheikh Muhammad, Khalīl and 'Ali came to live at the makām, and there they narrated all the above to our informant, by word of mouth.

(*To be continued.*)

THE IMMOVABLE EAST.

By Philip J. Baldensperger.

(*Continued from Q.S.*, 1916, p. 26.)

Toilet.

The toilet of the women is performed carefully: special attention is paid to the eyes. The eyebrows are shaved and blackened with *kohl* (antimony), which is kept in a small bottle, the *mukhula*, and put on the eyebrows and eyelashes with a fine pencil called *mikhal*.[2]

[1] The attack of illness appears to have been either malignant malarial fever or sunstroke.

[2] [From the Arabic *kohl*, with the prefixed article, is derived the word alcohol, the present application of which is relatively modern. In earlier times the word was used (*e.g.*, by Paracelsus) to designate any fine powder.—Ed.]

Besides the painting of eyebrows and eyelashes the lips and cheeks are stained red. Sometimes points and lines are traced in brown on the forehead, cheeks, and chin. The hands, nails, and toes are painted red and brown with henna. The women are very anxious to display the whiteness of their skin and the blackness of their eyes. They sing a song describing this sign of beauty at the wedding reception of the bride. The song is always in four lines, followed by the ululation, thus:—

ابيض من الثلج بيضا عبائبكي

Abyaḍ min ith-thalj, bēḍā ghabā'ibkī

Whiter than the snow, yea, white are thy breasts;

اسود من الفحم سودا حواجبكي

'Aswad min il-faḥm, sōdā' ḥawājibkī

Blacker than coals, black are thy eyebrows.

كل عريس ان طلبكي على الباب ناظركي

Kul 'arīs in ṭalabkī 'alla l-bāb nāṭzirkī

If a bridegroom woo thee, contemplating thee at the gate,

يطلع مُحَضّر على قفلة حواجبكي

Yetla' muḥazzar 'allā kefla ḥawājibkī

In anguish he leaves (having seen) in the circle of thy brows (that which he has seen).

A bath is taken regularly once a month, but they do not wash the face every day, so as to preserve the effect of the paint (*ḥusn yussef*) on the cheeks. They have different kinds of perfume (*'iṭūra*) which they put in the clothes. The smell is strong and unpleasant to European noses. Moreover, it is often obnoxious to young children, who cannot bear it. The painting is carried out by an expert female painter. The terms are *ḥammara* and *taḥammara*, or *zayyana* and *tazayyana*. To complete the home toilet, without the *izār* (a large winding sheet) a bunch of *tāmar-hennā'*, or a rose, is stuck into the hair. The clogs cover the naked feet, about which are the tinkling foot-bracelets. The gown (*fustān*) which the women put over the chemise (*ḥamīs*) and broad drawers, can be buttoned in front, but it is open and the breasts can be perceived through a slight gauze drawn over them. After having completed the toilet, they may enjoy a few knocks on the drum and one of them will sing some song, always about love or beauty, in white and black.

كرما لكي يا امليحة لنسمي
انا حجار

Kurmā lakī ya 'mlīkha linasmī anā 'hjār

In your honour, my beauty, my breath I withhold,

واطلع على راس الجبل وانقل
خفيف حجار

Wa 'tla 'allā rās ej-jabal wa 'nkal khafif hejār

And go forth to the heights of countries untold;

وابني على كرسي خدك قلعتين
ودار

Wa 'bnī 'allā kursī khadīk kal'atain wa-dār

Fine stones shall I gather, two forts shall I make,

يالي سبيتي العذب برنت
الخلخال

Yālī sabītī il 'adhab birannet il-khulkhāl

And your cheeks as foundation, shall I have to take;

And a house shall I build, your *khulkhāl* will I hear,

Will they lull me to sleep, their tinkling in my ear.

The care taken in the toilet was also, among the ancients, very much what it is now. Pharaoh's daughter, with her suite, go for their bath to the Nile. The elementary toilet of the country-people probably consisted of a simple wash and some ointment on the head. But in the towns we find the same methods as now. When Jehu, having killed the kings of Israel (Joram) and of Judah (Ahaziah) came to Jezreel, Jezebel was painting her eyes with *kohl*. She "rent her eyes," that is, as the mode was, to elongate the black line of *kohl*. Thus the eyes seemed to be rent. This is the explanation if we may assume that the Hebrew *pūkh* and the Arabic verb *fuka'*, "to rend or pull out the eye," can be traced to the same origin. We read: "And Jezebel painted her eyes with *pūkh*, and arranged (perfumed) her head (hair)" (2 Kings ix, 30). Job had three daughters, whom he called *Jemīma* (the pigeon), *Kᵉzī'ā* (Cassia), and *Keren hap-pūkh* (Job xlii, 14). According to the second and third names, "perfume," and the "*kohl*-bottle," or "*pūkh*-horn," these articles were in use in his place. Jeremiah also mentions the habit, and says: "In vain shalt thou make thyself fair, though thou rend thy eyes with *pūkh*" (*tikrᵉ'ī bap-pūkh 'ēnaikh*) (iv, 30). Ezekiel uses the

modern *kohl*; employing the same root, he says: "when thou didst wash thyself and paintedst thy eyes," *kāḥalt 'enaikh* (xxiii, 40). Perhaps *pūkh* was substituted for *kohl* after the Babylonian captivity. It is astonishing that we do not find *kohl* in the full description of toilet articles mentioned in the third chapter of Isaiah. Possibly, among the twenty-three different objects, variously interpreted, there may also be the stylus and the *kohl*-bottle; perhaps *ḥ'rītīm* (transl. "wimples") may be the *mihkala*, in a leather pouch instead of in a silver or crystal bottle. In verse 16, of the same chapter, mention is made of their "wanton eyes," which may be "alluring" or "masked" eyes (*i.e.*, by the *kohl*).

The following is a list of toilet articles, with the translation usually given and the rendering which I have ventured to suggest in these pages:—

Hebrew.	Usual English Translation.	Rendering Suggested.	Modern Arabic Term.
Isaiah iii, 18.			
'akhāsīm ...	Tinkling ornaments of the feet	Wooden clogs ...	*kubkāb.*
Shebhīsīm ...	Cauls	Row of arranged hair plaits	*zaffa, 'ezzāb.*
Sāh'rōnīm ...	Round tires like the moon	Golden necklace, with barley-like ornaments	*she'īrīya.*
Ib. 19.			
Netīfōth ...	Chains	Pearl necklace ...	*tōk; 'akd.*
Shērōth	Bracelets ...	Bracelets ...	*'asāwer.*
Re'ālōth ...	Mufflers ...	Head veil ...	*ra'al.*
Ib. 20.			
Pe'ērīm	Bonnets ...	Skull caps ...	*tākīa.*
Ze'ādhōth ...	Ornaments of the legs	Ankle bracelets with bells	*khulkhāl.*
Kishshūrīm ...	Head bands ...	Conical gold plates, for the head	*kurz.*
Bāttē han-nefesh	Tablets	Scent bottles ...	*hakka tīb: 'uttāriya.*
Lehāshīm ...	Earrings ...	Earrings ...	*halka-'ldanāin* (sic).

Hebrew.	Usual English Translation.	Rendering Suggested.	Modern Arabic Term.
Ib. 21.			
Tabbā'ōth ...	Rings	Rings	*khātim*, plu. *khawātim.*
Nizmē ha-'af ...	Nose jewels ...	Nose jewels ...	*khezām.*
Ib. 22.			
Mahᵃlāzōth ...	Changes of suits	Red silk kaftan	*Hedem; 'ātlās.*
Maʿᵃṭāfōth ...	Mantles ...	Jackets... ...	*takzīra.*
Mitpāhōth ...	Wimples ...	Shawl or veil ...	*tarḥa.*
Hᵃrītīm ...	Crisping pins ...	Kohl-pot or bag	*mikhala.*
Ib. 23.			
Gilyōnīm ...	Glasses	Looking glasses	*mir'a.*
Sᵉdhīnīm ...	Fine linen ...	Chemises ...	*kamīs.*
Zᵉnīfōth ...	Hoods	Hoods (Bethlehem caps)	*shaṭwa.*
Rᵉdhīdhīm ...	Veils	Veils	*stār.*
Ib. 24.			
Hᵃghōra ...	Girdle	Kilt	*hejer* (does not exist as a separate article).
Pᵉthīghīl ...	Stomacher ...	Home woven thread girdle	*hezām.*

A few more articles of toilet mentioned in Canticles are:—

Hebrew.	Usual English Translation.	Rendering Suggested.	Modern Arabic Term.
Cant. i, 10.			
Tōrīm	Rows of jewels...	Throat chains ...	*znāk.*
Hᵃrūzīm ...	Chains of gold...	Necklace of beads	*kharaz.*
Ib. 11.			
Tōrē zāhābh ...	Borders of gold	Gold bracelets ...	*suwār.*
Nᵉkūdhōth kesef	Studs of silver...	Earrings.	
Cant. iv, 9.			
ʿᵃnāk *mizzawwᵉrōnayikh*	Chain of thy neck	Neck clasp ...	*ānik.*

The general toilet of the ancient Hebrews did not differ very much from the Arabs of Palestine. Men shaved (*gillah*, Isaiah vii, 20) the hair of their heads and left a single lock (*tzīzith*), as the Arab *shūsha*, in the middle of the head (Ezek. viii, 3). The common people were forbidden to cut the hair round the head (Lev. xix, 27), they had to shave it; Priests and Nazarites alone had the privilege of letting their hair grow; sons of kings had locks resembling women's plaits, but called *k^e^vūzzōth* (Cant. v, 2 and 11), these hung about their heads without the ribbons employed by women. Absalom was caught by his hair because his locks were loose. Nazarites vowed not to let a razor pass over their head—as long as the vow lasted the seven locks (Numb. vi, 5) were left to grow, then the Nazarites were to shave them, and burn them on the fire, below the peace-offering (Numb. vi, 19). Darwishes and Fakirs, in the East also let their hair grow and abstain from perfume, as a mark of penitence. Priests did not shave the hair but cut it, and kept it in proper order, neither as long as that of the Nazarites, nor as short as that of the common people (Ezek. xliv, 20).

The beards were not to be shaved, not even on the cheeks, or below the chin and neck (Lev. xix, 27), but they were kept tidy (2 Sam. xix, 25). Probably the Jews combed their beards, as every Mohammedan does, at the end of his prayer, while he is yet on his knees, and before the final Amen. To shave the *zīzith* and the beard was only done as an insult (2 Sam. x, 4), or when in great sorrow (Jer. xli, 5, and xlviii, 37).

In the towns the women plaited the hair (*zimmēth*) into a dozen or more plaits, hanging down the back in a row, so as to cover the whole back in a well arranged coiffure (*ma'aseh*, Isaiah iii, 24), like the Arabic *zaffa*, and small golden trinkets ended each plait (1 Peter iii, 3). In some cases, especially with the women of Egyptian origin, the thin plaits were brought along the temples and covered half the cheeks, then, wound backwards in a graceful circle, they disappeared behind the veil. The visible part of these numerous plaits resembled, vaguely, the open half of a pomegranate on each side of the face (Cant. iv, 3, and vi, 7).

The different articles of perfumery and painting were introduced in very early times. Perhaps the three daughters of Job, who were the "fairest" (Job xlii, 15) in all the land, and received inheritance among their brethren, typify, by their names, the introduction of South Arabian articles. The name of the first was

Y*emīmā*, "product of Yemen" (?), or "turtle dove"; the name of the second was *K*ᶜ*zīa*ʿ, which resembles the Arabic *kazih*, *i.e.*, "seasoned with aromatic seeds," and the third was called *keren-happūkh*, "the horn of *kohl*." In the towns the mode was followed more assiduously, as we have seen. Jezebel also perfumed her head (2 Kings ix, 30). The *tīb* is a South Arabian perfume (nutmeg). The Yemen perfume (*shemen yemīnō*, Prov. xxvii, 15, 16), had certainly a very strong odour, so that Solomon, who probably had received this special perfume from the Queen of Sheba, says: "A continual dropping (in the house) in a very rainy day and a contentious woman are alike. To hide her is as to hide perfume, for the Yemen scent can always be known."

The countrywomen, as well as the men, perfumed themselves on special occasions. David, having lost his child, rose, and no more neglected his toilet, but perfumed himself. When Ruth went to the threshing-floor, she perfumed herself (Ruth iii, 3). This was different to the anointing of priests or princes—called *māshah* (Judges ix, 18). Widows neither washed their veils nor perfumed themselves till the end of their mourning (2 Sam. xiv, 2). The hair of the women was always covered at the back, so that the plaits could not be seen. It was a calamity to be obliged to uncover the locks (Isaiah xlvii, 2).

(*To be continued.*)

HEBREW WEIGHTS IN THE BOOK OF SAMUEL.

By E. J. Pilcher.

English Version. (1 Samuel xiii, 19–22.) "Now there was no smith found throughout all the Land of Israel; for the Philistines said, Lest the Hebrews make them swords or spears: But all the Israelites went down to the Philistines, to sharpen every man his share, and his coulter, and his axe, and his mattock. Yet they had a file for the mattocks, and for the coulters, and for the forks, and for the axes, and to set the goads. So it came to pass in the day of battle, that there was neither sword nor spear found in the hand of any of the people."

LXX. "And a worker of iron was not found in all the Land of Israel, for the Strangers said, Lest the Hebrews make sword and spear: And all Israel went down to the Land of the Strangers to forge every one his reaping-hook, and his tool, and every one his axe and his sickle. And the vintage was ready for the reaping, but the tools were three shekels for a tooth, and for the axe and the sickle the standard was the same. And it came to pass in the days of the battle of Machmas, that no sword or spear was found in the hand of all the people."

VULGATE. "Now a worker of iron was not to be found in all the Land of Israel, for the Philistines had taken the precaution that the Hebrews should not make sword or lance. Therefore all Israel went down to the Philistines to sharpen every one his ploughshare, and hoe, and axe, and rake. And so the edges were blunt of the ploughshares, and hoes, and tridents, and axes, even to the goad, which had to be straightened. When the day of battle came, sword and lance was not found in the hand of all the people."

The difficulties of these well-known verses are acknowledged by every Biblical scholar. The renderings of the LXX and the Vulgate differ widely from the English, and the Revised Version excuses itself by saying in the margin that "The Hebrew Text is obscure." If, however, we accept the suggestion of the Rev. M. H. Segal and Signor Rafaelli[1] the passage is capable of a rational explanation, and we shall have a striking instance of the way in which a Hebrew narrative can be illuminated by the discoveries of archaeology.

Taking the English text as it stands, it seems very extraordinary that the Israelites should have gone all the way to Philistia to get their tools sharpened. The familiar schoolboy sharpens his pocket-knife on the nearest stone, and the Israelites could have done the same thing, especially as stones were so plentiful in their country. Furthermore, if there were no smith in Israel, we are left in the dark as to where they obtained the tools that were to be sharpened.

The Greek Version has a much more sensible story. We are told by the LXX that there was no worker of iron in Israel, and therefore the Israelites went down to the Land of the Strangers to *forge* (χαλκεύειν) every man his reaping-hook, etc., etc. This rendering avoids the difficulties touched upon in the preceding paragraph.

[1] *Quarterly Statement*, 1914, p. 99; 1915, p. 40.

It indicates the process by which the Israelites obtained their implements, and it releases them from the absurdity of having to go so far, merely to have them sharpened.

The idea of sharpening was derived by the English Version from the Vulgate, where it was forced upon Jerome by his interpretation of the first three words of the twenty-first verse, והיתה הפצירה פים, which he considered to mean "and there was bluntness of edges," *retusæ itaque erant acies*, taking פצירה to signify "bluntness," and פים to be the plural of פה = an edge. These interpretations, however, are very debatable. In his Hebrew Text of Samuel,[1] Dr. Driver was of opinion that "These words are hopelessly corrupt. They are rendered conventionally *bluntness of edge*, but (1) the plural of פה is elsewhere פיות; (2) the meaning, bluntness, viewed in the light which the root פצר elsewhere expresses, is extremely doubtful; (3) the construction is grammatically inexplicable."

On the other hand, the English translators construed the two words in question as "the file of edges," following the authority of the Chaldee Targum of Jonathan ben Uzziel, which renders the word הפצירה by שופינא the Aramaic for "file." Dr. Driver characterised this as "merely conjectural." It is by no means certain that files were known in the time of Saul: antiquarian research has, so far, not established their use for so early a date.

The LXX differs entirely from both the English and the Latin Versions. It knows nothing of bluntness, nor about a file. It says "And the vintage was ready for the reaping." This looks, at first sight, as if the Greeks had before them an entirely different text. Yet, as Mr. Segal points out, it is not necessary to adopt this view. A comparison of the two versions will demonstrate that the LXX had before them the present Massoretic Text, but they could not understand it. They therefore made the usual assumption that the passage was corrupt; and they endeavoured to correct it into something intelligible. The Rev. Mr. Segal has indicated how this might have been done; but his explanation involves too great a mutilation of the Hebrew. The following comparison appears to be preferable, the first line giving the Massoretic Text as it exists to-day, and the second line the corrections made by the LXX scholars. One or two characters in the Massoretic Text seem to be

[1] *Notes on the Hebrew Text and the Topography of the Books of Samuel*, by the Rev. S. R. Driver, D.D., Second Edition (Oxford, 1913), p. 104.

redundant, for reasons which will presently appear, and these characters are placed within brackets:—

והיתה הפצירה פים למחרשות ולאתים Massoretic.

והיתה הבצירה בימי מחרשות ולאתים LXX.

ו[ל]שלש קלשון [ו]להקרדמים ולהציב הדרבן

ושל״ שק״ לשון ולהקרדמים ולהציב הדרבן

Thus the LXX took the unintelligible פצירה (*fem.*), to be a variant of בציר (*masc.*) = "vintage." פים was taken to be a blunder for בימי, "in the days of": the initial ל of the next word being treated as a corruption of ר.

The equally unintelligible שלש קלשון was treated as a contraction: של״ שק״ were expanded into שלשת שקלים. The ו in the next word was read as י (a frequent phenomenon in the LXX) and thus they got לשין, "to the tooth," which was not very correct Hebrew, but good enough for their purpose.

Consequently, what the LXX imagined they read in the Hebrew was literally, as follows:—"And it was the vintage in the days of the cuttings: and to the tools three shekels to the tooth, and to the axes, and to the standard the sickle." They turned this into the best Greek they could make of it.

It will be observed that the list of implements described by the LXX differs from the lists given by the Vulgate and by the English Version, with the exception of the axe, in which they all agree. This leads us to another point, namely, that the Greek translators could not identify the articles named in Samuel. It seems extraordinary that there should have been any doubt about the names of common implements of industry at that date, when Hebrew was probably still a living language; and if it were not, the allied Punic could have given the information; but the fact remains that the LXX were uncertain about these words, and modern scholars are still further in the dark. Taking the present Hebrew Text, the list of implements given in verse 20 differs from that in verse 21. In verse 20 מחרשתו occurs twice, although the ingenuity of the Massoretes has provided the second occurrence with different vowels. In verse 21 this second occurrence is replaced by דרבן, and Dr. Driver says of verse 20, "Probably, therefore, דרבנו should be read here for מחרשתו, the two verses will then agree in the

implements enumerated, and the repetition of almost the same word in one and the same verse will be avoided."[1] The LXX appear to have found דרבן in both verses, for they render *δρέπανον* in each place.

The four implements mentioned in the Hebrew Text are as follows:—מחרשת, *mākẖārēṯ_eth*. By its etymology, this ought to be something connected with ploughing, probably a ploughshare, though the Greek has *θέριστρον*, "reaping hook." את, *ēṯh*. This word cannot mean exactly the same thing as the foregoing. All the versions translate it "ploughshare" in the well-known passages Isaiah ii, 4; Joel iii, 10; and Micah iv, 3, about beating swords into ploughshares, and spears into pruning-hooks. The English Version inconsistently translates it "coulter" when it occurs in Samuel. The coulter is an iron blade fixed in the beam of the plough to assist the ploughshare. Modern oriental ploughs do not possess this refinement, and it is extremely unlikely that the ancient ploughs did either. קרדם, *ḳardōm*. There can be no doubt that this means an axe, for in Judges ix, 48, we read of the king cutting down the branches of trees with קרדמים. דרבן, *dŏrbān*, is translated by the Vulgate and the English Versions as "ox-goad," but by the LXX as *δρέπανον*, "sickle."[2]

Whatever may be the exact meaning of these four words, we can at least observe that they fall into two classes; namely, those that would be useful for fighting, and those that would not. The narrative in Samuel is intended to explain why the Israelites had no proper weapons on the day of battle. A ploughshare, although a dangerous implement, would be an awkward and impossible weapon in a scrimmage. The את is expressly unwarlike, for the prophets repeat a proverbial saying about beating swords into אתים whenever they wish to describe a general disarmament.

On the other hand, the axe is a typical fighting weapon, and was a favourite arm of the Egyptian infantry. If we take *dŏrbān* to signify an ox-goad, we can at once realise that it might be a very effective weapon in capable hands: to say nothing of the exploit of Shamgar, the son of Anath, who slew six hundred Philistines with one. (The Greek rendering *δρέπανον* might mean either a sickle or

[1] *Loc. cit.*

[2] The modern agricultural implements of Palestine were described and fully illustrated by the Rev. G. E. Post, in *Quarterly Statement*, 1891, pp. 110–115. The ancient implements were probably very nearly the same.

a short curved sword, either of which would be useful in close fighting; but it is very possible that δρέπανον is a mere transcription of דרבן.)

Consequently, there can hardly be any doubt that the first two implements were harmless tools of industry, while the latter two could be turned to warlike uses in the absence of anything better.

The author of the Book of Samuel evidently considered that the sword and the spear were the only appropriate weapons for a warrior, and the axe and the ox-goad were mere implements of husbandry; but the Egyptian monuments give us an indication of an earlier phase of Palestinian warfare, for they show the axe and the spear as the regular equipment of the "Canaanitish" fighting man. The Palestinian deities taken over into the Egyptian pantheon were similarly armed. For instance, we may see in Wilkinson's *Ancient Egyptians*,[1] Reshpu (*Reshph*) and Anta (*Anath*) wielding a formidable-looking battle-axe in one hand, and holding a spear in the other; and in a tableau of the enemies of Egypt, there stands a warrior equipped in the same way, with axe and spear; and, in order that there may be no doubt in the matter, the Egyptian artist has written above his head the word *Kanāna*.[2] Consequently, the Israelites who fought in the battle of Michmash with hatchet and with ox-goad, were merely reverting to the weapons of their heathen predecessors.

From what has already been quoted, we have seen that the late Dr. Driver gave up this particular passage in Samuel as being "hopelessly corrupt." If that were the case, the corruption would be of very early date, for a comparison with the LXX shows that the Greek translators had before them exactly the same text as we have to-day. Signor Rafaelli and the Rev. Mr. Segal, however, have made the happy suggestion that the text is not corrupt, but that it contains a word which had been forgotten until quite recently, when it was recovered upon two or three Hebrew weights.[3] This word is פים exactly as it is spelt in Samuel. "And the פצירה was a פים for the ploughshare." Here, however, we are faced with another problem, What was a פצירה? The LXX translation

[1] *The Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians*, by Sir J. Gardner Wilkinson (New Edition, London, 1878), Vol. III, p. 235, Pl. LV; p. 237, Pl. LVI.

[2] *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 259, Fig. 84.

[3] *Quarterly Statement*, 1912, p. 186.

of the word is undoubtedly wrong. The Latin rendering "bluntness" is characterized by Dr. Driver as "extremely doubtful"; and the meaning "file" attached to it by Jewish scholars is merely a conjecture. Signor Rafaelli suggests that פְּצִירָה meant a "payment" but Mr. Segal pertinently inquires why one of the known Hebrew words for payment were not used in this passage. There is evidently room for another hypothesis. The root, when it occurs in the Old Testament, always means to press. Not physical pressure, but moral pressure. To press, or induce. It therefore seems reasonable to suppose that פְּצִירָה would be equivalent to "inducement" in the sense of a fee, or a royalty, or a licence. We would thus understand that the Israelites went into Philistia to have their tools forged, "and the *inducement* was a *payam* for the ploughshare and the *'ēth*, and three *killeshōn* for the axe, and for the setting up of the goad." We use the transliteration *payam* for פִּים because it has been shown above that the full word פִּים was in the text from which the LXX was made; and that it was corrected to בִּימִי in order to yield something intelligible to the translators.

If we accept the *payam* to be a given weight of silver, we are bound to assign the same sense to *killeshōn*, which occurs in the sentence in the same connection. Both words seem foreign to the Hebrew language. The LXX translators appear to have read קלשין, and Dr. Gaster has suggested to the writer that this is a variant of the ברשין of the Assuan papyri. It has been supposed that *shelosh killeshōn* is a corruption for *shĕlōsheth shĕkālīm* "three shekels," or *shĕlīshīth ha-shékel*, "a third of a shekel"; but it is quite inconceivable that any scribe, however careless, could have blundered so badly over such a common and familiar phrase as "three shekels" or "a third of a shekel," as to have turned it into something which was utterly strange. Copyists' errors are seldom in that direction; the tendency of the scribe is to substitute something intelligible for what he cannot understand; and as *shelosh killeshōn* has been unintelligible to commentators for two thousand years, the probability is that it is the true and original reading.

In the English Version we find the words שלש קלשון, *shelōsh killeshōn*, represented by "forks," and in the Vulgate by "tridents." *Shelosh* is the ordinary Hebrew word for "three," but the meaning of *killeshon* is quite unknown. The interpreters, seeing that they were dealing with a series of agricultural implements, imagined that the two words in question must refer to some article with

three members, such as a three-pronged fork; but Dr. Driver says: "such a compound in Hebrew is by no means free of suspicion, and we expect naturally to find a reference to the same implements that are named in verse 20." All these difficulties vanish when we recognise that verse 21 is speaking of some kind of payment: that for two of the agricultural implements mentioned in verse 20 a given weight of silver, called a *payam* is to be paid; and for the other two a weight of three *killeshōn*.

Assuming for the present that Dr. Gaster is correct in identifying the *killeshon* of Samuel with the *karasha* of the Assuan papyri, then both the units mentioned in the Hebrew narrative would belong to the "Persic Silver Standard." It is called "Persic" because the Persians were the first to strike coins upon this standard; but it is to be remembered that the Persians did not invent it: they found it already in existence among the Babylonians, and apparently of a great antiquity. Three specimens of the פים, *payam*, weight have been discovered in Palestine, and they represent a unit of 115·5 Troy grains, which is two-thirds of the Persic silver stater, and worth about 1*s.* 6*d.* in our money. The *karasha* represented five staters, or ten σίκλοι Μηδικοί (the "shekels" of the Assuan papyri). It would weigh 866·5 grains, and, as a silver unit, would be worth about 11*s.* 6*d.* in our currency.

These figures give us very little guidance for the proper appreciation of the Hebrew story, for we are ignorant of the relative value of money in those days, or the current prices of tools and implements. But all the indications point to the *bakshish* demanded by the Philistines being an exorbitant one. Sections 273 and 274 of the Hammurabi Code define the daily pay of a workman as four to six grains of silver. These are not Troy grains, but Babylonian. They are sufficient to show, however, that the average wage of a labourer at that period was three farthings per diem, reckoned in our money. In Palestine the rate would certainly not be more, for it was a much poorer country. On this basis, therefore, a charge of a *payam* (or 1*s.* 6*d.*) for permission to manufacture a ploughshare, would be equivalent to a demand for the proceeds of twenty-four days' labour. The point and shoe of an ox-goad would require little metal or exertion on the part of the smith; but it was charged at the prohibitive rate of three *karasha*, *i.e.*, £1 14*s.* 6*d.*, because the implement might possibly be used as a spear. In other words, the Israelite would have to work for

a year and a half before he could earn sufficient to pay for such a necessary article as an ox-goad, or an axe. It is evident, therefore, that the writer of Samuel wishes to impress upon us the extreme oppression of the Israelites by the Philistines, and the extraordinary pains that were taken to prevent metal tools or implements finding their way among the Hebrew population.

It may therefore be claimed that the discoveries of archaeology enable us to understand clearly a passage which has been a difficulty to translators for centuries; and the generations of scribes who have handed down the text are absolved from any charge of carelessness or officious meddling; except that in verse 20 מחרשתו has usurped the place of דרבנו, and in verse 21 a false connection was made by the insertion of ל and ו, so that we ought to read ושלש instead of ולשלש, and להקרדמים instead of ולהקרדמים.

"And all Israel went down to the Philistines to forge every man his ploughshare and his *'ēth*, and his axe and his goad; and the inducement was a *payam* for the ploughshares and for the *'ethim*, and three *killeshōn* for the axes, and to put a point on the goad; so that in the day of battle no sword or spear was found in the hand of the people."

BABYLONIAN AND HEBREW THEOPHORIC NAMES.

By Joseph Offord.

The narrative in Genesis relating the origin of the Hebrew nation clearly assigns as the ancestral home of Terah and Abraham, the place called Ur. This must have been either Mugheir, or the Akkadian North-Babylonian district of Uri. That is to say, in either case Abraham was a Babylonian, and the whole evidence derivable from the language of his descendants, the Hebrew, proves him to have been a member of the Semitic inhabitants of Mesopotamia, and not a Sumerian, or of another branch of the human race to be found scattered there, that is termed the Anzanite or Elamite stock.

If the statement as to Abraham's Babylonian origin is correct, it is to be anticipated that numerous evidences of similarity of thought, ideas, and the expression of these, should be apparent in the Old Testament Books, between the Jews and their ancestors and the descendants of these latter, living contemporaneously with the

Hebrews in Palestine. These proofs it is well known have in many instances been found and indicated. The identical concepts producing them manifest themselves deep down in those most primitive of all specimens of the particularities of a human race's psychology—the titles used for the personal names of a people and of their gods. Especially interesting are those illustrating the religious thoughts and cults, and it is to instances of such kind that the forthcoming remarks are devoted.

There will be minor differences noticeable in the expression of originally similar concepts, but these, in most cases, will be explained when a major premise in the investigation is allowed for. That is, that the same ideas are clothed in a polytheistic form in the old home of the Chaldees, and so have been somewhat modified to adapt them to the monotheistic theology of the "chosen people," as exemplified in the Old Testament.

In passing, it should be observed that no parallel series of instances of the identity of primitive Hebrew concepts and those of the Egyptians can be adduced. Whilst the so-called "Egypticity" of some parts of the Pentateuch is quite remarkable—the accuracy of the words employed, the phrases used, and the instances cited, indicating a complete familiarity with Ancient Egypt of the era to which the Biblical story relates, as to its manners, customs, and worships—yet the more accurate the reference is to Egyptian matters, the more do the differences appear, in the majority of instances, between them and Jewish affairs. The two nascent civilizations are here illuminated, but by contrasts.

On the other hand, as our perfection in reading the cuneiform inscriptions progresses, and the material available for comparison augments, the closer appear the numerous affinities between the Hebrews and the population of Mesopotamia.

In comparing the Assyrio-Babylonian theophoric names with corresponding ones in Hebrew, it will be found that they almost always allude to some special attribute of the deity arising from His attitude towards mankind.[1] It may be said that, given the postulate of a god by humanity, this would naturally, if the names of gods were used as part of personal titles, arise everywhere. But the instances to be adduced, it will soon be apparent, amount to more than this: the *nuances* of thought demonstrated amongst the

[1] The era is too early for such expressions as omnipotent or omnipresent.

"make-up," if it may be so called, of the names the people—or the priests for them—selected, are identical; and are so in a degree that cannot be equalled by comparison with the onomasticon of any other ancient race, excepting of course their common relatives such as the Arameans and Arabs.

It is very important, too, to note that the same similarities can sometimes be traced to the Sumerian, or non-Semitic Babylonians, and to the semi-Semitic inhabitants of Susa and Elam.

The instances selected are only a few out of many hundreds, and are not chosen because they happen to be those most adapted for the purpose, but merely because they are surmised to be sufficient for it, and it is hoped may lead the way to scholars increasing them by the addition of still more appropriate specimens.

An interesting instance of similarity is that of the idea of God as "Shepherd of His flock," found among many names in cuneiform annals, such as Assur-re-sunu, "Assur is their Shepherd"; Shamash-re'ua, "Shamash is my Shepherd"; and in the very first Babylonian dynasty at present known to us we find kings called Shamash-re-u and Su-re'u.[1]

In the *Babylonian Expedition of Pennsylvania University*, p. 28, Prof. Hilprecht, translating a text calling Bur Sin "the powerful Shepherd of Ur," gives instances of numerous names in *ingar*, *nagid*, and *Utul*, all also meaning Shepherd as a title of a divinity.

The belief in God as a protector, naturally, where the deity is considered as beneficent towards pure and worthy devotees, is prominent in these joint names, but so also are the variations upon the theme, such as the use of the picturesque symbols of a fortress or stronghold, a shelter, a shadow or shade, a rock, a hill or a mountain.

Shemariah,[2] "The Lord is my Guardian," or Protector, and Azariah, "Whom Jehovah helps," the meanings of which are so well illustrated by Psalm xxxiii, 20, "He is my help and shield," are strikingly supplemented by such names as the old Sumerian Utu-ur-ra, "Ur is a Protector," or Bel-shum[3]-uzur, "Bel protect the

[1] See Isaiah xl, 11, "Shall feed his flock like a Shepherd"; Psalms xxiii, 1; Ez. xxxiv, 11-14; Jer. xxxi, 10.

[2] Shemariah (1 Chron. xii, 5) = "Kept of Yah"; Azariah (1 Chron. ii, 8) = "Whom Yah helps"; Uzziah (2 Chron. xxvi, 1) = "Strength of Yah."

[3] Prof. Jastrow considers this Shum (from Shumu) to be the Sh'mu of Samu-el. Shumu being the Assyrian equivalent of the Hebrew *shem* and equal to *ablu* (Abel) and *maru*.

offspring," or Shamash-abal-uzur, "O Shamash, protect the son." Perhaps, however, Ismachiah, "God sustains," Azaziah,[1] "God is (my) Strength," are more closely allied to Ilu-nasir, "God is my Protector," or Assur-garnelia, "Assur is my Supporter," as Eliada[2] was "whom God cares for." The virtue of a protector lies in his might or strength, so the Babylonian who was called Iau-um-ilu is the Iao-el (Joel), "Jehovah is Mighty,"[3] as Nirig-ellat-za is "Nirig is his Defender." So Nergal-tukla-tua and Nabu-tukla-tua trusted in the strength of Nergal and Nebo, as Tuculti-abal-Esharra,[4] "My help is the son of Ishara," and Ilama-tukak, "I trust in God," and Assur-udannin-aplu, meaning "Assur fortifies the son," relied upon their gods. The notion of God being his servant's strength like a fortress or keep, as expressed in Psalm xviii,[5] was quite a favourite one in Babylonian names, like Urkittu-duri, or Urkuti-duri, "Urkittu is my Fortress" and "Ur is my Fortress," and Belemenuri, "Bel is my Fortress." This is also shown by the shorter form of the title Belduri.

The primitive strongholds were the rocks, so we have such Hebrew deity titles as Zuriel, "God is my Rock"; Elizur, "God is a Rock."[6] A Babylonian expressed this idea by naming his offspring Suri addana, "My Rock be propitious." That the rock was his god is proved by the proto-Arabic deity Suriel, and by the god Sur of the Aramaic inscription of the semi-Assyrian princes at Shamal, or Zenjirli.

The Rock deity provides a grateful shade for his worshipper to hide for concealment or shelter, so Bezaleel[7] rested in "God's Shadow," and Zephaniah was "The Lord hideth."[8] So Ina-silli-Bel meant "In Bel's Shadow." There he hoped to be hidden and sheltered from his foe, as did Elizaphan[9] and Eliada. God could shelter

[1] 2 Chron. xxxi, 13.

[2] 2 Sam. v, 16.

[3] See Isaiah ix, 6, "The Mighty God," and lx, 16, "The Mighty One of Jacob."

[4] This is, practically, as spelt in 2 Kings xvi, 7, and in the Aramaic inscription found at Zenjirli. A.V., Tiglath Pileser.

[5] Jer. xvi, 19, "O Lord, my fortress and stronghold."

[6] Numb. iii, 35, Zuriel; ii, 10, Elizur, "God is my Rock"; see such phrases as "Rock like our God," 1 Sam. ii, 2; "The Rock that begat them," Deut. xxxii, 18. Also Numb. i, 6, Zurishaddai.

[7] Exod. xxxi, 2.

[8] Isaiah xxxii, 2, "Shadow of a great Rock."

[9] Elizaphan, "God hides," Numb. iii, 30.

one, like a bird does its tender young in a nest, hence such a name as Itti-Bel-ginni, "With Bel is my Nest." This may, however, mean the family is under Bel's protection. Compare also Silli-Shamash, "Shelter of Shamash," *Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, 1907, p. 179.

The emotions expressed by such Hebrew names as Hoshania,[1] "The Lord heareth," Ishmael, "God hears," Jaazaniah,[2] "God listeneth," are duplicates of a name in a Sippara tablet,[3] Isma-ilum, "God hears," or Sin-sheme, "O Sin, hear," whilst the expression of Lamentations,[4] "The Lord will regard them no more," is the reverse of that of a man's name, Bel-emurani, "Bel has regarded me."

Although precisely similar names are not in the Biblical Hebrew, such titles, in cuneiform, as Adad remani, "Adad, pity me," and the Sumerian one of Ningirsu-Nisag, "Ningirsu is gracious," are quite reminiscent of Hebrew thought, as are Jewish ideas of the care and mercy of God to be found in names like Atanah-ila, "I sigh after God," Ilanu-taklak, "I trust in God," and Lihdi ili, "May he rejoice in God," also Adad-Milki, "Adad is my Councillor," also Ili-maliki, "My God is my Councillor," as voiced by Isaiah (ix, 6), "His name shall be called Councillor."

The symbolism of a rock is closely allied with that of a hill or mountain, and both peoples delighted in terming the deity a mountain.

The El-Shaddai of Palestine may be equated with Il-Shadde of Babylonia. Bel Shaddua, orB el Shedia, meaning "Bel is my Mountain,"[5] is thus used as a name. Shadu in Assyrian might mean "mount" (or lord). Bel was Shadi-rabu, "The Mighty Mountain," like "God the Mount of my help."

Shad also, in Hebrew, meant "breast," and Gen. xlix, 25,[6] appears to play upon this fact of the word's double significance.

[1] Azaniah, "Jah heareth"; Neb. x, 9, 1 Chron. iii, 18. Assurbanipal says in an inscription, *uzun rapaštum išruguši*, "An open (wide) ear Nabu and Tasmit have given to me"; see *Revue Biblique*, 1905, p. 53.

[2] 2 Kings xxv, 23.

[3] *Recueil de Travaux*, Vol. XXII, p. 35.

[4] Lam. iv, 16, see Mal. i, 9, "The Lord will regard your persons."

[5] Delaporte, *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*, 1906, p. 47, etc. Enlil had for title Kur-gala, "Great Mountain," *Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, 1911, p. 81.

[6] "The God of thy father . . . the Almighty . . . shall bless thee . . . with blessings of the breast." El-Shaddai may suggest the translation, "The God of the breasts."

The conception of a hill, *mamélon*, resembling the breast is, however, world-wide, causing two hills in Scotland to be called by peasants the "Paps of Jura."

In connection with Shadu either meaning mountain or lord, in the *Memoires de Délégation en Perse*, III, 18, Père Scheil gives a fragment of a vocabulary which he renders thus:—

"Šadi, 'my mountain' (or my prince).
Šad-du-ni, 'our mountain' (or our prince).
Šad-du-šu, 'his mountain' (or his prince)."

It is a list of divine or supreme beings, and shows how the duplicate significance was apparent and intended.

Some Hebrew names extol the Divine by intimating, in the form of an interrogation, that He is incomprehensible. Thus we have Michaiah,[1] "Who is like Jehovah?" and Michael, "Who is like God?"[2] Many Babylonian names are constructed in a similar way, such as Aba-Ningirsukim, "Who is like Ningirsu?" Mannu-ki-Adad, or Mannu ki-Ishtar, "Who is like Adad?" or Ishtar. So also Elihu, if translated "Whose God is he?" (or Whose God is here?) is answered in a Sumerian's title, Uttu-me-ne, "Utu is he"; and the Sumerian Utu-ba-ra, "Utu is Lord," is equivalent to Elijah.

The conception of God as the light to guide or to illumine our path, is very familiar in Babylonian. Thus a name found in Ilu-nuri, "God is my Light": Bel-nuri and Shamash-nuri are similar to the expression in Psalm xxii, 1, "The Lord is my Light": whilst the sentence, "Who coverest Thyself with light as with a garment,"[3] is almost duplicated in a tablet text in praise of Merodach as being *illani-illabis-nuri*, "The god is clothed with light."[4] In the same manner the Hebrew Neriah, "God is a Lamp," is allied to Assyrian Nur-ilu, or Nu-ur-riya,[5] and Nur-ilishu, "His God is light," *Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, 1914, p. 216. The light divine must be perceived by the worshipper, so they used such names as Bel-Lamar, "That I may see Bel," like Job's desire, "Yet in my flesh shall I see God."[6]

[1] 1 Kings xxii, 8; 2 Chron. xvii, 7.
[2] Dan. x, 13.
[3] Psalm civ, 2.
[4] *Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, 1906, p. 199. The plural is used for a single deity here like Elohim.
[5] *Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, 1892, p. 14.
[6] Job xix, 26.

The fatherhood of God as expressed in the Biblical Abiel,[1] is rendered more emphatically in the Assyrian name Ilu-abi, "God is my Father." The conception is that of the deity being His child's Creator, for we have numerous patronymics such as Assur-bani, and Bel-bani, "Assur (or Bel) is my Creator." If God was creator-parent of mankind He, Himself, was the uncreated being as shown by such a name, in Sumerian, as Ba-u da-me-a, "For Ba there is no father"; we may compare the phrase in Craig's *Religious Texts*, i, 83, where Assur is said to be "he who creates himself." God's fatherhood involved His affection for His children. Thus the Hebrew Elidad, "God is a friend," is surpassed by Eldad,[2] "Whom God loves," or Jedidiah, "Beloved of Jehovah." But an ancient Elamite Semitic king called Idadu-Susinak, "Beloved of Susinak," and a Babylonian Utu-ki-ram-me, "Utu is He who loves me," breathes a high confidence.

The parental affection of God rendered man His own special *protégé*. Thus Ammiel is "Man of God," so in Sumerian a Gal-Bau was "Bau's man," and Awil ^{ilu}Išum, "Man of the god Ishi"; and the word Amid forming part of names signified the same conception in other cuneiform appellations. It meant a willing servant of the deity. So, many a pagan Pict was christened as Gillie Christ (Gilchrist).

Precisely so, in numerous Sumerian and Babylonian homes, a favourite form of indicating devotion to God was to name a child the deity's devotee or serf. In Sumerian, Ur, forming part of a name such as in Ur-Bau, signified "Bau's devotee." Similarly, Arad meant the same in Assyrian in such names as Arad-Bel or Arad-Banitu. Abdili, a Babylonian name, is practically identical, and also parallel, with Hebrew Abdiel. But the Biblical Mikneiah,[3] "God's chattel," surpasses the cuneiform titles in fervour.[4] The Sumerian name Ninmar ^{ki}mah-kal-la, "N. exalts the humble man," is closely allied to Ezek. xxi, 26.

[1] 1 Sam. ix, 1, and Eliab, Numb. i, 9.

[2] Numb. xxxiv, 21; compare Babylonian Ilu-tappi, "God is my Companion."

[3] 1 Chron. xv, 18. See also a Phoenician seal reading מקנמלך, *Enc. Bib.*, 3284.

[4] The name Ahijah, "God is a brother," of 1 Kings xi, 9, is identical with Ahi-jawi of a tablet found at Taanak, but the bearer may have been an Aramean. Prof. Hilprecht gives a cuneiform name in the time of Artaxerxes, Ahi-ia-a-ma. Gabriel, "God's Hero," is equivalent to Gubriya in Assyrian.

Some Mesopotamian names have such a monotheistic trait, and contain deity titles so similar to Jehovah (Yahveh), that explanations of them might lead to debatable matters. Various coincidences that must not be omitted are those between Hammurabi's calling Sin Sin-be-el-sa-me-e, and the Biblical Yahveh Shamaim of Gen. xxiv, 7.[1]

Also the same king's deity Ilu-siru, who is certainly to be equated with El-Elyon. The "I am" of Exodus seems the counterpart of such names as Ibassi-ilu, "God is"; or Ki-ni-ib-ba-si, 'The true One exists," quoted by Hommel and Ranke. Iawi-ilu also occurs, but may be the title of an Arab residing in Babylonia. Possibly Ibassi-ilu was of Canaanite extraction.[2] Another such name as Ia'we-ilu is Yau^{m}-ilu, which, as Dr. Pinches points out, has not quite the same meaning. He considers it to mean, "Jah is God," not "Jehovah is God." It occurs during the Hammurabi period.[3]

I am unaware of any cuneiform cognomens indicating contemplation of the purificatory powers of the deity, perhaps because so much of the needed cleansing was performed by the temple priesthood, but in a text setting forth the rite for driving out demons the regeneration is ascribed directly to Ishtar in these words, *ša Ištar-ana-išate lušêsu*, "Whom Ishtar rescues through the fire."[4]

Among interesting resemblances are such names as Abishua,[5] "Father of Welfare," and the name of the eighth monarch of Babylon's first dynasty, Abi-e-shukh. Note also the similarity between the Babylonian personages Ebi-shum and Abeshua. The virtual identity in signification between the Biblical Malkiah[6] and Abimelech and the Assyrian Abi-šarru is quite clear; as also between Habazaniah and Humbuztu.

[1] One of the new Genizah fragments of the Hebrew text of Ecclesiasticus, that for chapter xlvii, 5, reads אל עליון, rendered in our version "Most High God." A personal name on a Hittite cuneiform tablet is Setsani-sar-tsabim, "Setsani, Lord of Hosts," *Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, 1907, p. 96.

[2] Père Scheil, among names found in records from Susa, gives Abi-ilum, almost certainly a Canaanite.

[3] *The Old Testament in the Light of the Records of Babylonia and Assyria*, 1st ed., p. 199. M. Thureau-Dangin and Prof. Sayce give several instances of the name Isarlim, which is equivalent to Israel.

[4] Jastrow, "Babylonian Parallels to Job," *American Journal of Biblical Literature*, 1906, 179.

[5] 1 Chron. viii, 4.

[6] Jer. xxxviii, 6. *Cf.* Babylonian Abi-ili.

If Shamserae of 1 Chron. viii, 26, should be read Shemserai, then the Babylonian name of Shumuabi, meaning "Shem is my father," is very similar.

The Ahuzzath of Gen. xxvi, 26, seems akin to the name Ahu-ilum of a text from Sippara.[1]

The identity of conception between the Biblical Ammiel, "A kinsman is God," and the Babylonian Ammizaduga has long since been noticed. See the Babylonian name Sin-shada, and the Ammi-Shadai of Numb. i, 12.

Jehoash,[2] "Jah gave," and Nebo ushanni, "Nebo gave me," like Nethaniah, "The Lord has given," and Natanu-ya-awa, need no comment, but Jehoshebah, "The Lord is an oath," or covenant, is closely illustrated by a common Mesopotamian phrase, when taking an oath before a divinity, to sanctify the ratification of a deed or covenant: in Assyrian, *niš-ili zakâru*. The last word reminds us of the name Zechariah, "The Lord remembers." The Hebrew concept of God's righteousness is voiced in such a Babylonian name as Shamash-shar kitim, "Shamash is king of righteousness."

Some premonition of the Logos of John's Gospel appears in a name Ilu-bi-Shamash, "The Word of Shamash is God," and in Ilu-bi-sha.[3] The divination and personification of the Word of God, however, was carried very much further in cosmogonic concepts than these names imply. Dr. Stephen Langdon, in his *Sumerian and Babylonian Psalms* (p. xix) enlarges upon this matter and, in an essay upon a seal of the Hammurabi period, he points out that the Word of the gods is identified with the first member of the Trinity, Anu, in such a title as Anu-pi-Ninib, "The Word of Ninib is Anu."[4] There are several cuneiform copies of a Hymn to the "Word of Merodach." Upon the seal mentioned occurs a name, Erik-amat-kum, "Eternal is thy Word." Another name is Etil-pi Merodach, "Mighty is the Word of Merodach."[5]

There is a great contrast between the humility of men in connexion with their gods in the religious texts of Babylonia and of Egypt. Such appeals for forgiveness and mercy as appear in the

[1] *Recueil de Travaux*, XXII, 36.

[2] 2 Kings, xiii, 25.

[3] *Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, 1910, p. 71.

[4] "A Cylinder Seal of the Hammurabi Period," *Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, 1912, p. 159.

[5] Compare the peculiar Babylonian name Puni-rabi, "The mouth (of God) is great." Allotte de la Fuÿe, *Documents Pré-Sargoniques*, 87, II.

cuneiform "Penitential Psalms" and the story of the Babylonian Job, have, so far as we at present know, scarcely any like expressions in Egyptian literature or theological works. The ancient Egyptian preferred to allege, in his "Negative Confession," that he had not committed transgressions, and that he had done that which he ought to have done. If this personal guarantee of perfection was insufficient, then he relied upon the knowledge and recapitulation of magic formulae and priestly certificates to pass him through the hall of judgment to a well-deserved paradise.

It is probable that the continual warfare, and the cruelty with which campaigns were carried out in Mesopotamia, as well as the liability to disease in the low lands of Babylonia, had bred a more lowly state in the minds and the thoughts of the people. Life was more strenuous and uncertain. To the Babylonian the sack of cities, the tortures and privations of prisoners, and the carrying away of captives were quite familiar trials; and the sorrows of such events and the misery caused by epidemics kept ever before him the helplessness of man, and deepened his sense of guilt and sin.[1]

ARCHAEOLOGICAL NOTES.

By Joseph Offord.

X. *Notes.*

In Volume XVII of *The Babylonian Expedition of Pennsylvania University, Cuneiform Texts*, pp. 64–66, Dr. Hugo Radau shows conclusively, by means of records concerning the Babylonian monarchs Kuri-Galzu and Burna-Buriash, that the word translated "son" from the Black Obelisk text relating to Jehu, frequently does not mean son, or even grandson, in the ordinary sense, but merely a descendant in the kingship. It is said that some writers have condemned the authenticity of the parts of 2 Kings concerning Jehu because the biblical author did not agree with the Assyrian Annals on this point. The word used by the scribe of Shalmaneser II on the obelisk which cuneiform translators have properly (with

[1] See *Cuneiform Texts*, XXIX, 1, "Report of Plague in the City."

exceptions) rendered as "son of Omri," which is its ordinary sense,[1] is *TUR* (= *mâr*), but the Bible makes Jehu fourth king in succession from Omri, and simply a "ruler in Omri's house," and not a descendant by birth.

Dr. Radau adduces a sentence which concerns the genealogies of the Cassite dynasty of Babylon, reading *Kuri-Galzu tur Burna-Buriash:* which Weissbach erroneously renders "son of Burna-Buriash," and shows it "must mean really a later descendant and ruler in the house of Burna-Buriash," *i.e.*, one "in the line of reign of that monarch," and not son. Dr. Radau cites an inscription of King Nazi-Muruttash, of the same dynasty, recording himself as the Tur of Kuri-Galzu and Shag-Bal-Bal of Burna-Buriash. Tur in this case is to be taken as son. The sense of Shag-Bal-Bal is that of a scion of the reigning house, and corresponds to the meaning to be properly assigned to the word *tur* of the Black Obelisk text and that from the "Synchronous History of Babylonia" concerning Kuri-Galzu which Radau uses as basis for his remarks; for Nazi-Muruttash was really the son of Kuri-Galzu and the fifth king after Burna-Buriash, whilst Kuri-Galzu was son and heir of a king Kadashman-Harbe, and the fourth in royal succession from Burna-Buriash. The Black Obelisk record consequently has other cuneiform parallels for translating the word *Tur*, which usually meant "son," as merely a successor (on the throne) of a royal predecessor, and therefore does not in any way contradict the Old Testament statement. This had been suggested before, but it is much more satisfactory to possess definite proof.

The fact that the name of Belshazzar of the Book of Daniel, which was unknown to the classic historians, had been found soon after the first decipherment of the cuneiform writing upon an inscription of his father, King Nabonidus, is well known. This was quite accurately connected with the statement that Daniel was appointed third ruler in Babylon, arising from the fact that at that time there were two royalties, King Nabonidus and his son—probably associated with him on the throne—Belshazzar.

The name of Belshazzar has, moreover, been found upon a few business documents known as contract tablets, and therefore he must, at the date of their composition, have been occupying a semi-regal position, thus confirming the statement of Daniel to a

[1] See III R., 5, No. 6, II, 25, 26.

remarkable extent. The matter has now been carried very much further in an essay by Dr. T. G. Pinches, in which he gives a copy, with translation, of another tablet alluding to Belshazzar, and also supplies a list of all known cuneiform documents concerning this prince excepting the well-known cylinder of Nabonidus from Ur.

The text on this tablet is not a commercial record, but a sort of signed and sworn affidavit in which a certain Iti-awurru takes an oath to fulfil an obligation, which oath is vowed by certain deities, and to make it doubly binding is supposed to be also sworn by the reigning monarch.

The true meaning of these oath-formulae which make use of the king's name is still somewhat obscure. This, however, does not reduce in any way the historical importance of this tablet, which lies in the fact that it is not, as usual, the king only, but he and his son who are named in the crucial sentence concerning the oath. The words as rendered by Dr. Pinches make this significant fact very plain, and run as follows:—

"Isi-Awurru son of Nuranu, by Bel, Nebo, the Divine Lady of Erech, and Nanaa, the oath of Nabonidus, king of Babylon, and Belshazzar, the king's son, has sworn, that on the 7th day of the month Adar, of the 12th year, Nabonidus, king of Babylon, to Erech, to the presence of Zéri, and the priests of E-anna, I will go."

Then follows a contract to perform certain services and the names of the statutory witnesses.

The value of this testimony to Belshazzar's position, as Dr. Pinches clearly points out, is, that, evidently in the minds of the people and official scribes who wrote these legal documents, he occupied a position similar to that of the king his father. He was not *de facto* king, or Nabonidus would have abdicated; but as for Daniel, Belshazzar among the Babylonians was considered to hold a regal (viceregal) position.

Dr. Pinches further summarises eleven other cuneiform documents concerning Belshazzar. He also publishes another tablet in which Gobryas is said to be governor of Babylon. He had previously been over the province of Gutium in Media, so that he was almost certainly a Mede, and thus his identity with Darius the Mede is now practically proved.

For further interesting facts concerning these matters reference can be made to Dr. Pinches' paper in the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, 1916, pp. 27–34.

Interesting facts concerning Belshazzar's sister have just been published by Père Dhorme. She was a priestess in the temple of the god Sin at Ur, from the shrine of which came the above-mentioned Nabonidus' cylinder.

XI. *Babylonian Contract Tablet, with Aramaic Text.*

In the *Revue d'Assyriologie* for 1914, a cuneiform engrossed tablet relating to a loan transaction is edited, with translation. The monetary amount concerned is stated to be a half-mina and 5 shekels (kaspa a-an ½ ma-na 5 siqlu).

Around two edges of the tablet is incised an Aramaic docket confirming the financial sum in question, which reads:—

כסף פרס I
ש III II על נבורן

"Money amounting to 1 paras and 5 shekels against Nabû-riwan." This proves conclusively that a paras was equivalent to half a mina.

The text is of some moment in connection with Daniel v, 25, where u-Pharsin (Peres of the LXX) is "halves of a mina"; and also mystically, as separating the mina into moities, meant "divide." It also could convey the sense of Persian by a play upon the word.

The tablet is dated in the sixth year of Cyrus, and the first line notifies that the loan, which was graciously made by the deities Belit and Nana, was in "argent blanc," so the mina in question was not the special gold mina.

DR. H. CLAY TRUMBULL AND KADESH-BARNEA.

By Prof. Camden M. Cobern, Allegheny College,
Meadville, Pa.

Prof. Camden Cobern, of Allegheny College, Meadville, U.S.A., has forwarded to the Secretary the following criticism, with a request for its insertion in the *Quarterly*, a request with which the Committee readily comply.

It must, however, be observed that the authors of the *Annual* (1914–15), trained observers and archaeologists, have carefully described facts supported by photographs.

No one looking at their photographs, Plates X, XI and XII, can fail to find Dr. H. C. Trumbull's description in pp. 272–5 ("written up from notes" on his return to America, see note p. 274) a very remarkable exaggeration of the scene, as now existing. Nor must it be forgotten that Dr. Trumbull's visit was a very hasty one by a traveller who was no expert, and whose party were in fear of attack by Arabs. His book, however, shows much careful study of the subject, and was especially sent out to our authors on that account. It must be added, in excuse for what may be allowed to be rather curt expressions of criticism on their part, that their book was written under pressure and without an opportunity of seeing proofs, both authors having volunteered for military service and joined the army before the book went to press.

J. D. C.

The recently published annual volume of the Fund, "The Wilderness of Zin," contains much interesting and valuable information, but a few paragraphs antagonistic to the location of Kadesh-barnea by Dr. Trumbull deserve some criticism. A number of minor imperfections, logical and philological, might be mentioned, but this other more serious matter overshadows these.

1. The fundamental structure of the argument is wrong. Mr. Lawrence evidently fails to appreciate the complexity of the problem, supposing that he has proved that 'Ain Kadeis could not be Kadesh-barnea because 'Ain el-Kuderat, and perhaps one or two other near-by places, have a better water supply. But that is a superficial fact perfectly well known to Rowlands and Trumbull as well as to the more recent explorers who still maintain the identification established by those two pioneer travellers.

Mr. Lawrence practically ignores Dr. Trumbull's argument in favor of the spring at 'Ain Kadeis being the Biblical spring, although this argument changed the opinions of the greatest living geographers in all lands.

2. It was Dr. H. Clay Trumbull who so powerfully summarized the argument that the district about 'Ain Kadeis—not the Arabah or some other far distant place—was the general locality represented by the Biblical Kadesh-barnea that, for a quarter of a century, this

has been accepted by scholars as one of the geographical certainties; but while our author finally admits that if the Bible is correct in its claims that the entire "tribal group" camped together at Kadesh-barnea, then this little group of springs and wells—all within some ten miles of 'Ain Kadeis—represents the only district in the Wilderness of Zin where such a body of people could be supplied with water—even building an argument in favor of 'Ain el-Guderat upon this fact—yet he does this without giving any credit whatever to Dr. Trumbull for this far-reaching and important identification. Instead of this he speaks of this epoch-making work as a book of "fantastic descriptions" written by "a Mr. H. C. Trumbull, an American."

3. Dr. Trumbull is most caustically criticised for his statements concerning the "verdant beauty" of the oasis at 'Ain Kadeis, with its "carpet of grass," its "fig trees," and "shrubs and flowers," amidst which birds were singing and bees were humming, and for his words concerning the fountain from which the "gurgling water" went "rippling and cascading along its narrow bed."

But it is noticeable that not one of the direct claims of Dr. Trumbull concerning his observations has been disproved. On the other hand Mr. Rowlands also mentions the birds, flowers, grass, and "cascades," and several later travellers, like myself, have seen most of the evidences of an "oasis" which Dr. Trumbull mentions. Indeed Mr. Rowlands, in his day, can say: "I have not seen such a lovely sight anywhere else in the whole desert—such a copious and lovely stream."

That Mr. Lawrence failed to see a rabbit or lark or quail, in his very brief visit, is no proof whatever that some other traveller may not have seen these. That the pool was very shallow when Mr. Lawrence visited it is no proof that it was the same depth when Dr. Trumbull saw it, or when the Israelites were camped near it. In Palmer's day Kossaima was little more than a desert, but it is now surrounded with gardens and palms.

What Dr. H. Clay Trumbull declared he saw, he most certainly did see. This distinguished gentleman was trusted and honored throughout the whole United States as the long-time editor of the most widely read religious periodical in America, if not in the world. His practical judgment, keen intelligence and wide knowledge, as one of the most active religious leaders of his time, caused him to be selected by Yale University for a course of lectures on

religious problems. His personal honor and transparent truthfulness were never challenged.

Dr. Trumbull, like most of us Americans, enjoyed using a rather tropical and Oriental rhetoric. This is the national *koina*. But errors of rhetoric are not to be confounded with errors of observation or untruthful statements. Even sub-tropical rhetoric can hardly be counted more culpable than a frigid rhetoric which is reticent of appreciation of pioneer work.

Undoubtedly Mr. Lawrence's crisp words were not written with the intention of thus undervaluing the work of Dr. Trumbull. The writer perfectly understands this. The unfortunate impression given to some on this side of the Atlantic is probably to be explained from the fact that Mr. Lawrence viewed this ancient site merely as a scientific observer, while Dr. Trumbull and others have viewed and reported it from the preacher's standpoint, and with the exuberant enthusiasm of those who supposed themselves to "stand where Moses stood." While congratulations are due to the authors for the splendid work done in this volume, may we not hope for the revision of these objectionable statements in the second edition?

NOTES AND QUERIES.

The Eastern Frontier of Egypt.—Through the kindness of Dr. Alan H. Gardiner the Library of the Fund has obtained a copy of an instructive pamphlet by C. Küthmann, of Hanover, on the Eastern Frontier of Egypt.[1] The subject is discussed with all necessary thoroughness, and the following brief account will be especially interesting to our readers in view of the present situation.[2]

[1] *Die Ostgrenze Ägyptens: Inaugural-dissertation zur erlangung der Doktorwürde genehmigt von der philosophischen Fakultät der Friederich-Wilhelms-Universität zu Berlin*, von C. Küthmann, Hanover. (W. Drugulin, Leipzig, 1911.) Presented to the Library by Dr. Gardiner (see *Q.S.*, Jan., p. 9).

[2] For general information, readers may be referred to the articles on "The Exodus" and "Goshen," by Prof. W. Max Müller, in the *Encyclopaedia Biblica*, col 1437 *sqq.*, 1758 *sq.*

The point at issue is whether the gulf of Suez once extended considerably to the north of the present Suez, as far as to the present lake of Timsah. Too much stress has been laid upon the Greek and Roman sources, and not enough upon the Egyptian evidence. We start with Naville's excavations at Tell el-Maskhuta, west of Ismaʿilia, on the wady Tūmīlāt. This is the Greek Heroonpolis, the biblical Pithom, the native name of which was also Zeku. Here arises the question of the site of Klysma which is mentioned on a Roman milestone (of A.D. 306–7) as being apparently nine miles east of Heroonpolis. Klysma is the Clesma mentioned by the Abbess Aetheria (*c.* A.D. 533–540) and by Petrus Diaconus, and the site may be identified with the modern Tell Kolzum, some few hundred paces north of the modern Suez. The conclusion is important because it supports the alternative interpretation (of Mommsen) that the milestone was the ninth on the road from Heroonpolis to Klysma.

Next comes the problem of the extension of the gulf of Suez in classical times. For example, according to Strabo, it was at Heroonpolis that the "Arabia Gulf" began, a notion which (as W. M. Müller points out) "seems to be based upon the artificial connections through which this harbour became accessible." Herr Küthmann shows that the hypothesis has too many difficulties in the way.

The third section of the pamphlet goes back to the old Egyptian evidence, and urges that even in the Pharaonic age the gulf could not have reached very much farther to the north. If it had, it is inexplicable why the Egyptians of the Middle Kingdom did not continue the canal over the short stretch between the modern Ras el-Wady and the lake of Timsah in order to reach the open sea.[1]

A further question arises concerning the site of Zaru, a fortress frequently mentioned in texts of the New Kingdom. Formerly located on the isthmus of Kantara, it has been suggested that it should rather be looked for at the modern Ismaʿilia. Zaru is identified with Sile, mentioned in the Itinerarium Antonini Augusti,

[1] *Cf.* W. M. Müller, *Ency. Bib.*, col. 1439, § 15, *à propos* of the theories based "upon the view that the ancient condition of the isthmus of Suez was very different from the present." "There is no doubt among geologists that the Red Sea once extended not only to the Crocodile Lake (Timsah), but even to the Balāḥ Lake, so that the Red Sea and the Mediterranean were completely connected. There is no evidence, however, that this state of matters continued down to historic times."

and the distances given point pretty clearly to Kantara. Herr Küthmann then proceeds to the Egyptian data which also indicate the same locality. He observes that the key to Egypt is *not* the Wādy Tumīlāt—well known as the place chosen by Lord Roberts in the campaign against Arabi Pasha (1882); on the contrary, it is "the bridge Kantara," which is still the route taken by the caravans from and into Palestine and Syria. It is true that the Horus myth seems to prove that Zaru lay at Isma'ilia on the Timsah Lake, but a careful consideration of all the data leads to the conviction that the evidence of the myth is not strong enough to overthrow the older view.

S. A. C.

THE

PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND.

NOTES AND NEWS.

LORD KITCHENER,

K.G., G.C.B., O.M., G.C.M.G.,

1850—1916.

MEMBER OF THE GENERAL COMMITTEE.

The tragic event of Monday, June 5—one of world-wide importance—is also of melancholy interest to the Palestine Exploration Fund. Lord Kitchener was a Member of the General Committee, and in his early days, as Lieutenant, worked actively for the Fund, and contributed numerous reports and notes. These were printed in the *Q.S.* during the years 1874 to 1879. Of his work during these years we may quote a paragraph from the long and detailed memoir which appeared in *The Times* of Wednesday, June 7. Lord Kitchener's "first chance of adventure arose owing to a vacancy on the staff of the Palestine Exploration Society. He was offered the post in 1874 and at once accepted it. He remained in the Holy Land until the year 1878, engaged first as assistant to Lieut. Conder, R.E., in mapping 1,600 square miles of Judah and Philistia, and then in sole charge during the year 1877 surveying that part of Western Palestine which still remained unmapped. By September, 1878, the scheme of the Society was carried through, and a map of

Western Palestine on a scale of one inch to a mile was satisfactorily completed. The work entailed considerable hardship, and even danger. Kitchener suffered from sunstroke and fever. He and his surveying parties were frequently attacked by bands of marauders, and on one of these occasions Conder and Kitchener barely escaped with their lives. On another occasion Kitchener pluckily rescued his comrade from drowning." Trouble in Egypt took him away in 1882 and 1883, and his knowledge of Arabic contributed to his being made second in command of the Egyptian cavalry under Sir Evelyn Wood. In November, 1883, he left Suez to take part in the survey of the Sinaitic Peninsula, but the Egyptian crisis called him away again, not before he had sent a letter and a long report, which were printed in the *Q.S.* for 1884. The report, in particular, is of exceptional interest. In his Palestinian and Sinaitic work Lord Kitchener was accompanied by our late Acting-secretary, Mr. George Armstrong (see *Q.S.* 1910, p. 98), whose "excellent service" he generously acknowledged in his final report on the completion of the work, and whom he did not fail to visit when the "Lieutenant" had become a household name, and "Sergeant" Armstrong was installed in the former offices of the Fund.

Of the many references to Lord Kitchener's work in Palestine, a quotation may be made from the *Christian World* of June 8, touching the synagogue at Capernaum: "The patient attention to detail, which has always been one of Lord Kitchener's traits, was doubtless fostered in Palestine, for on the great map of Western Palestine, to which his name is attached, appear special signs for vineyards, orchards, springs, tombs, and even wine-presses. A rare instance of his humour is permitted to appear in one of his communications to the Palestine Exploration Committee, where Kitchener explains his omission of a certain name in his map of Mount Carmel, a name which, he indicates, originally found its way into other maps incorrectly through the action of 'enthusiastic travellers, who look more for what should be in the country than for what is.' His Palestine Exploration work was very dear to Kitchener's heart, and moved him to the only poetical quotation that appears to be recorded in any of his utterances. Speaking before the Geographical Section of the British Association in 1878 on his survey of Galilee, Lieut. Kitchener said: 'We hope to

rescue from the hands of that ruthless destroyer, the uneducated Arab, one of the most interesting ruins in Palestine, hallowed by the footprints of our Lord. I allude to the synagogue of Capernaum, which is rapidly disappearing owing to the stones being burnt for lime. Should we not preserve for ourselves and our children buildings so hallowed, so unique? Let us hope that, if this expedition succeeds, it may be a means of leaving some footprints on the sands of time,' and the speaker proceeded to quote the verse from Longfellow's 'Psalm of Life,' containing the reference to the 'forlorn and shipwrecked brother,' which, many ventured to hope on Tuesday, might be the worst fate that had overtaken Lord Kitchener himself."

It will be recalled that in the *Q.S.* of last October (pp. 157 *seq.*), reference was made to a booklet by Dr. Samuel Daiches, on "Lord Kitchener and his Work in Palestine," in the course of which he seeks to estimate the effect of his training there upon his subsequent career.

We give in this issue an early photograph of Lord Kitchener and other accounts of his services on behalf of the Fund. See below, pp. 122–125.

The Annual General Meeting.

As subscribers and friends will understand, it was for several good reasons inexpedient to make the usual Annual General Meeting as prominent as on former occasions. A meeting was, of course, held—and for business purposes only—and a statement of the proceedings will be found below. Great regret was expressed at the absence of the Honorary Secretary, Mr. Crace, the first time for many years; but the Chairman was glad to be able to report that in spite of his trying illness, Mr. Crace was able to continue giving close attention to the affairs of the Society.

The sad loss which the Committee suffered in the death of their late Chairman, Sir Charles Watson, brought with it the necessity of choosing a successor, by no means a simple matter; for in addition to other qualifications for the position it is important that the Chairman be usually resident in London. Eventually, it was

decided to approach Dr. Leonard W. King, of the Assyrian Department, British Museum, a distinguished scholar, who has himself conducted excavations at Nineveh, and is the author of important works on Assyrian and Babylonian history and discoveries. As a Member of the Executive Committee, Dr. King had already shown a deep interest in Palestine Exploration, and his consent to act as Chairman may be regarded as of good augury for the future of the Society's work.

Among other disturbing events resulting from the state of war is the fact that Mr. G. Ovenden, our Chief Clerk and (latterly) Assistant Secretary, joined the Colours in April, and is now serving in the Rifle Brigade. For many years he has given devoted attention, not only to the business of the Society, but to its Library and Collections which he has helped to catalogue and arrange ; and the Committee look forward to the time when he may be free to take up again those duties which have had to give place to National Service.

The Committee have been fortunate in securing the temporary services, as Assistant Secretary, of a lady, whose personal local knowledge cannot but prove useful to her. Miss Estelle Blyth is the youngest daughter of the late Bishop Blyth of Jerusalem, and has already shown a good grasp of the affairs of the Society and an excellent business capacity.

Since our last issue the Society has to deplore the loss of one of its oldest and most enthusiastic supporters, the Local Secretary for Manchester, the Rev. William Frederick Birch, for forty-eight years Rector of St. Saviour's Church, Manchester. In this appointment he succeeded his father, the late Archdeacon Birch, the first Rector, who had held it for thirty-two years. A graduate of Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge, Mr. W. F. Birch was ordained in 1863, and held two or three curacies before his appointment to St. Saviour's in 1868. Early in 1875 he visited Palestine, and from that time kept up a constant and unflagging interest in the topography of the Holy Land, a subject on which he contributed many papers, from time to time, to our *Q.S.*, advocating his views with an amusing vigour, and supporting them with ample Biblical references. He remained

a great walker and full of bodily activity until this year, when an acute attack of influenza and bronchitis laid him low. He died on 19th April, and was buried in his parish churchyard on Easter Eve, in the presence of a large congregation. Mr. Birch leaves a widow, two sons and six daughters. The death of our old friend left that important centre, the City of Manchester, without a Local Secretary. On every account Manchester is a place where this Society should be actively and intelligently represented. Fortunately, Prof. A. C. Dickie, of the University, himself one of our explorers, and one who has for years closely followed every detail of the Society's work, has kindly undertaken the duties of Local Secretary for Manchester.

From time to time the Press contains references of greater or less importance to the present conditions in Palestine. It is obviously not the function of the *Q.S.* to keep its readers informed of what is happening there, but now and again the items are of some interest, whether because they concern future prospects or because they bring out vividly the effect of the war upon the country and people. Thus, for example, we have read of constant drilling around Jerusalem, of armoured motors and artillery passing to and fro between Jerusalem and Jericho; of Nazareth being encircled with trenches; of Tiberias being fortified, ancient buildings being levelled for defensive purposes, or to give clear range for artillery, etc.

We quote the following from the *Field* (1st April):—"News has recently come to England to the effect that the Turks, anticipating an invasion of Palestine by the Allies, are making great military preparations in that country, and have strongly fortified the Mount of Olives among other places. The alarms of war are no new experience in the history of Jerusalem, which suffered siege and sack on various occasions in Biblical and later times. The Mount of Olives had its share in these events; it is on record, for instance, that when the Romans besieged Jerusalem in A.D. 70 the tenth legion was stationed at the foot of the Mount. Yet it will come as a shock to many people to think of these hillsides as scored perhaps by trenches and sheltering heavy guns, for not only do some of the most sacred associations of the Christian faith cluster about the

Mount of Olives, but contemplative minds, jarred by the strife of creeds and artificiality of the Holy City, have often found relief in the quiet influences of the Mount. It is true that modern accretions are found there as elsewhere, and only a few scattered olive trees serve as reminders of the groves which gave the Mount its name; but the main physical features have changed little since the time of Christ. The undulating ridge of which the Mount consists occupies a commanding position in relation to Jerusalem, on to which it looks westwards across the Kedron valley. It rises to a height of over 2,600 feet, and is from 100 feet to 200 feet higher than the hills on which the city stands. Eastwards there is an extensive view across the valley of the Jordan and the Dead Sea. The summit of the Mount is crowned by a huge pile of Russian buildings, including a tower which is ascended by over 200 steps, and which affords a magnificent prospect of the country in all directions. The Turks and their German masters no doubt appreciate the value of such a look-out at the present time."

Everything goes to show that the internal conditions in Palestine are shocking. Correspondents writing in the *Near East* give pathetic accounts of the losses caused by the locust invasion of last summer, and by circumstances due to the war—government paper coinage, clearance of local stocks of cereals, and shortage of labour. To add to all these troubles, typhus broke out and measures to cope with it were not encouraged, but rather the reverse. German agents have been active in buying up copper utensils, and rapacious jewellers, subsidized by unscrupulous usurers, have been scouring the country to buy up from the famished population their jewels at half, sometimes even at one-third, of their proper value. On the other hand, it is said that the forthcoming crops promise a fairly good yield which, if judiciously distributed, may relieve the present distress and avert the impending famine. Steps are meanwhile being taken by Syrians and others living abroad to do something for their unhappy countrymen, and committees are being formed at different centres in Egypt and elsewhere to relieve the distress. The Syrians in America, too, are now fully alive to their responsibilities, and it is reported that the U.S. Government is being asked to intervene with the Ottoman Government for the admission of foodstuffs. From the same source we learn that the clergy, and more particularly

the Maronite clergy, have suffered no less than the population, and an appeal has already been made to the Pope to use his authority to put a stop to the "campaign of persecution and starvation to which his spiritual children in Syria are being subjected."

À propos of the distress, the following appeal appeared in the *Near East*, and may be brought to the notice of readers of the *Q.S.*

"Sir,—May we call the attention of your readers to the sad case of a well-known and most deserving English family at Jerusalem, who are suffering seriously through the war? The head of the family is interned in Turkey, and there has been no communication with him for a long time. Full particulars will be given on application to any of the undersigned.—Yours, etc.,

"(Miss) NINA BLYTH,
97, Comeragh Road, W. Kensington.

"STEPHEN CAMPBELL,
Canon Missioner in Jerusalem,
Maydore, Mattock Lane, Ealing, W.

"BERESFORD POTTER,
Archdeacon in Cyprus and Syria,
Rake Manor, Milford, Surrey."

A question which the war has brought into strong relief is that of the Zionist Movement. The report went round that "the project for buying Palestine from the Turks has again been revived, and has been eagerly approved of by the Ottoman Government." At the same time, we have recently received from the editor, Mr. H. Sacher, a collection of essays by various writers on "Zionism and the Jewish Future" (Murray, London). The essayists include some well-known names, and they treat their subject with enthusiasm and acuteness. Zionism has its adherents and its opponents, and it is well to note that the hotly-debated question has its two aspects—the one, more idealistic or spiritual—the other, intensely practical and dependent upon economic, political, and diplomatic considerations. It is for the latter reason that the P.E.F. can claim a hearing, in so far as it is the aim of the Fund to deal systematically with a variety of points which must be taken into account in any discussion of the prospects of success for the Zionist Movement. It is an illustration

of the value of the Fund that the re-settlement of Jews in Palestine involves practical problems of Palestinian psychology and ethnology, and of the general character of Palestinian history. These problems are among those upon which the many enquiries instituted by the Fund throw useful light. The picture we are gradually gaining of Palestine as a whole, of the trend of its vicissitudes, of the controlling factors due to geographical and climatic conditions—this picture, imperfect though it still may be, is of the utmost significance for any estimate, not merely of the Zionist Movement, but also of the future of Palestine. There is a certain uniformity about Palestine, —a certain dependence upon conditions, some unalterable, some barely recognised—and any attempt to strive to make the future of Palestine run contrary to them would be unfortunate.

Father Dhorme of the *École Pratique d'Études Bibliques* of Jerusalem is so well known to readers of the *Q.S.* that we take pleasure in quoting the following sentences from the Press:—"The present war has provided what is probably the first occasion on which an archaeologist has received the Military Cross for Valour for gallantry in the excavation for antiquities. This honour was recently obtained by Père Dhorme . . . . who at Gallipoli for many weeks persistently rescued from the trenches a collection of Greek vases and statuettes, while subject to heavy rifle and shell fire. As the troops had already come across antiquities, the French general and Père Dhorme decided to make excavations, assisted by four *poilus*, some of whom were wounded, while one was struck down by sickness. Père Dhorme persisted in his explorations with happy results. Besides statuettes and vases, five splendid sarcophagi and some jewellery were discovered."

We are glad to take the opportunity of tendering our thanks to Prof. Henri Gauthier, of the French School of Archaeology in Cairo, through whose courtesy we are indebted—*via* Mr. Joseph Offord—for the rendering of the Greek inscription annotated by "E. J. P." in "Notes and Queries" (p. 153 *seq.*, below).

Fifty Years' Work in the Holy Land: A Record and a Summary, 1865–1915.—Under this title the late Colonel Sir C. M. Watson, K.C.M.G., etc., gave an entirely new revision of that *résumé* of the

work of the Fund which has been issued from time to time in order to furnish readers, and—especially—new subscribers with a synoptical account of the more important aims and achievements. Such accounts have been published in 1870, 1872, 1886, and 1895, so that twenty years have passed since the last revision—years during which most valuable excavations have been undertaken, notably at Gezer. Last year being the Jubilee of the Palestine Exploration Fund, a new edition was especially appropriate, and old subscribers as well as new will find that the book by the late Chairman of the Executive Committee gives an admirable bird's-eye view of the work of the Fund. Although space allows the book to provide only the bare outlines of what has been done, the material is so arranged as to include all information necessary to explain the different expeditions and excavations. A map is also appended containing all the important names and sites. Chapters are written on the reason why the P.E.F. was established; the foundation of the Society in 1865; the preliminary reconnaissance of Palestine, 1865–6; the explorations at Jerusalem, 1867–70; the expedition to the Desert of the Exodus, 1869–70; the survey of Western Palestine in 1871–7; the survey of Eastern Palestine in 1881–2; the geological expedition and survey of the Arabah in 1883–4; the excavations at Lachish, Jerusalem, etc. (five chapters), the survey of Southern Palestine in 1913–14; the Palestine Pilgrims' Texts, and a concluding chapter on the administration of the Society. There are two appendices: the chronology of the P.E.F., and the chronology of the publications. The book is published by the Committee of the Fund, and can be had on application to the Assistant Secretary, post free 3*s.* 6*d.*

Fifty Years' Work in the Holy Land. Colonel Watson's book (see the last paragraph) is having a steady sale; it should be read by all who would make themselves acquainted with the progress of Palestinian research.

In drawing attention to the books needed for the Library of the Fund, we may mention especially Lagarde's *Onomastica Sacra* (2nd ed., 1887), and the *Antonine Itinerary*. An edition of the latter by Parthey and Pindar was published at Berlin in 1847, see below, p. 116.

The New Survey: Double Annual for 1914–15.—The material resulting from the Survey of the Southern Country ("The Desert of the Wanderings") in the early part of 1914 proved to be more voluminous and more complete than could have been anticipated, seeing how short a time was available, owing to climate and other considerations. The whole Survey party must have worked with an energy and industry exceeding that of any previous expedition, notwithstanding the unusual difficulties which beset them from the nature of the country. The notes and descriptions of the various localities included are full and careful, and Messrs. Woolley and Lawrence are to be congratulated on having made them vivid and interesting, and on having secured so many and characteristic photographic illustrations as well as plans. The few inscriptions collected have been examined and carefully analysed by Mr. Marcus Tod, of Oxford. They are all personal memorials but afford some exact dates.

Altogether the amount of material largely exceeds what should suffice for a double volume of the *Annual*—*i.e.*, for two years. But, on careful consideration, the Committee thought that the reasons for publishing the whole together and without undue delay were so strong that they felt compelled to disregard the strictly economical question, so far as subscribers are concerned, and to publish the whole as a double *Annual* for the years 1914–15.

The reasons for this course were:—

1. That the region is one which so greatly interests all Bible students.
2. That it has never previously been surveyed or systematically examined.
3. That it may never again be so thoroughly examined and reported on.
4. That the disturbed condition of all Europe makes it improbable that any work of excavation can be undertaken for the present.

The price of the book to the public outside the Society is 45*s.*

An account of the *Annual* will be found in the April issue of the *Q.S.*, 1915, pp. 61–63.

The Committee are bringing out a new edition of the ($\frac{3}{8}$ in. to the mile) Map of Western Palestine, of which the original edition has been for some time out of print. It is in six sheets, and will be,

primarily, a travellers' map. The roads and railways constructed since the original survey have been added. For the sake of clearness, only the modern names are given. The hill shading is in a lighter tint for the same reason. All the country beyond that actually surveyed is shown in outline only. In a few years it may be possible to add much of this in a further edition. In the meantime, this is the clearest map and the easiest to consult of any yet issued by the Society. The price of the complete six sheets will be 7*s.* 6*d.* If desired, the map can be mounted on linen and a roller, or to fold. It will be ready for issue when the war permits.

The Library of the Palestine Exploration Fund contains many duplicate volumes, including standard works by Robinson, Ritter, Stanley and others. They may be had separately, and a list, with the price of each volume, has been prepared, and can be obtained on application.

The Index to the *Quarterly Statements* previously published included the years from 1869 to 1892, and the need for its continuation to a more recent date has been greatly felt. Some of the most important of the discoveries and work of the Palestine Exploration Fund belong to later years. Such are the excavations of sites on and around Ophel, by Messrs. Bliss and Dickie, in the Shephelah, by Messrs. Bliss and Macalister, and the great work at Gezer, by Prof. Stewart Macalister, besides many valuable papers and discussions on the sites in Jerusalem and elsewhere. During the year 1911, the Committee decided to supplement the old Index by one which should include the completion of the work at Gezer, that is to say, from 1893 to 1910. The laborious task was undertaken by Mr. (now Prof.) Dickie, whose familiarity with the matter dealt with, and conscientious exactitude, have now enabled the Committee to publish it with confidence. Price in cloth, 5*s.*; unbound, 3*s.* 6*d.*

The Committee will be glad to communicate with ladies and gentlemen willing to help the Fund as Honorary Secretaries.

Plaster casts of the raised contour maps (large and small) of Jerusalem have been prepared and can now be had on application.

The horizontal scale of the large map is $\frac{1}{2500}$ and the total dimensions are 5 feet by 4 feet 3 inches. The remains of the city walls and streets discovered on the Eastern and Western Hills are indicated in red lines. This map will be a most valuable help to the study of Jerusalem topography. Price £3 3*s*. Case and packing extra. The scale of the smaller map is $\frac{1}{1000}$ and the size 20 inches square. Price without addition of early walls and streets £1 5*s*.

A new and improved edition of the large photo relief map of Palestine (5 miles = 1 inch) is now ready. Price 6*s*. 9*d*. unmounted. Mounted on cloth, roller, and varnished, 10*s*. 6*d*. Size, mounted, 30 inches by 52 inches.

It may be well to mention that plans and photographs alluded to in the reports from Jerusalem and elsewhere cannot all be published, but they are preserved in the office of the Fund, where they may be seen by subscribers.

Subscribers who have not yet paid will greatly facilitate the Committee's efforts by sending in their subscriptions without further delay, and thus save the expense of sending out reminders.

Subscribers to the Fund are reminded that, whilst the receipt of every subscription and contribution is promptly acknowledged by the Assistant Secretary, they are now published annually. A complete List of Subscribers and Subscriptions for 1915 was given in the Annual Report published with the April number.

Golgotha and the Holy Sepulchre, the last work of the late Major-General Sir Charles Wilson, K.C.B., K.C.M.G., F.R.S., D.C.L., LL.D., etc. In this work our former Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Palestine Exploration Fund has brought together for the first time all the evidence which the most exhaustive research enabled him to collect bearing on the subject of these Holy Sites; and probably no man living had at once so intimate a knowledge of all investigations in the modern Jerusalem and so complete an acquaintance with what has been written about the Sites from the time of Constantine onwards. The price of the work (demy 8vo) is 6*s*., by post 6*s*. 4*d*.

A reprint of *Names and Places in the Old and New Testaments*, by the late Mr. George Armstrong, is now on sale, price 6*s*. The book was out of print for some years.

A complete set of the *Quarterly Statements*, 1869–1910, containing some of the early letters (now scarce), with an Index, 1869–1910, bound in the Palestine Exploration Fund cases, can be had. Price on application to the Secretary, 2, Hinde Street, Manchester Square, W.

The price of a complete set of the translations published by the Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society, in 13 volumes, with general index, bound in cloth, is £10 10*s*. A catalogue describing the contents of each volume can be had on application to the Secretary, 2, Hinde Street, Manchester Square, W.

Photographs of the late Dr. Schick's models (1) of the Temple of Solomon, (2) of the Herodian Temple, (3) of the Haram Area and Justinian's Church, and (4) of the Haram Area as it is at present, have been received at the office of the Fund. The four photographs, with an explanation by Dr. Schick, can be purchased by applying to the Secretary, 2, Hinde Street, Manchester Square, W.

The Museum at the office of the Fund, 2, Hinde Street, Manchester Square, W., is open to visitors every week-day from 10 o'clock till 5, except Saturdays, when it is closed at 1 p.m.

Subscribers in U.S.A. to the work of the Fund will please note that they can procure copies of any of the publications from the Rev. Prof. Lewis B. Paton, Ph.D., Honorary General Secretary to the Fund, 50, Forest Street, Hartford, Conn.

The Committee have to acknowledge with thanks, among other journals and books, the following :—

The Society of Biblical Archaeology: Vol. XXXVIII, Part 4, The Last Years of the Assyrian Monarchy, by the Rev. Dr. Johns; The Evil Eye in Egypt, by Dr. Alan Gardiner; A Tablet of Babylonian Wisdom, by Prof. S. Langdon.

The Near East: A weekly review of Oriental Politics, Literature, Finance and Commerce. Regular letters from special correspondents in Palestine and Syria (Beirut, Haifa, Jerusalem). 16th June: "Lord Kitchener and Palestine," by Estelle Blyth.

The Seven Churches of Asia, with illustrations and a map, by C. N. Johnston, K.C., LL.D.

The Scottish Geographical Magazine, April, 1916: Locusts in Syria; Communications in Asiatic Turkey, etc. May: The Interrelations of Europe and Asia as exemplified in the Near East, by Marion L. Newbigin, D.Sc.

Gallipoli: Poems, by R. H. McCartney.

The Irish Theological Quarterly, April, 1916.

Zionism and the Jewish Future, by various writers, edited by H. Sacher. 2*s.* 6*d.* (Murray, London, 1916).

The Expository Times.

The Jewish Quarterly Review, April, 1916.

The American Journal of Philology, Vol. XXXVII, 1.

The American Journal of Archaeology, Vol. XX, 1.

Art and Archaeology, Vol. III, Parts 2–4: The Wonders of the World: The Walls of Babylon, by E. J. Banks, etc., etc.

The Biblical World, March, 1916: The Abuse of Biblical Archaeology, by G. H. Richardson.

The Homiletic Review.

Revue Biblique, 1916, I and II, Rebords de bassins chrétiens ornés de reliefs, by Étienne Michon; The New Testament and Modern Discoveries, by E. Jacquier; Review of "The Wilderness of Zin" (The Palestine Exploration Fund Archaeological Report by Messrs. Woolley and Lawrence), by Father Lagrange.

Journal Asiatique, 1916, I, A Visit to the Supreme Sheikh of the Nosairis, by Henri Lammens.

Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique, 1914.

Échos d'Orient, January–April, 1916.

See further below, p. 151.

The Committee will be glad to receive donations of Books to the Library of the Fund, which already contains many works of great value relating to Palestine and other Bible lands.

The Committee will be grateful to any subscribers who may be disposed to present to the Library any of the following books:—

Duc de Luynes, *Voyage à la Mer Morte* (1864); published about 1874.

K. von Raumer, *Der Zug der Israeliten.* (Leipzig, 1837.)

L. de Laborde, *Voyage de l'Arabie Pétrée* (1829).

Lagarde, *Onomastica Sacra* (1887).

The Antonine Itinerary—an edition by Parthey and Pindar was published in 1847 at Berlin. An edition in Russian is also extant, but is therefore not available save to the few who know that language.

For list of authorized lecturers and their subjects, see end of the Journal, or write to the Secretary.

Whilst desiring to give publicity to proposed identifications and other theories advanced by officers of the Fund and contributors to the pages of the *Quarterly Statement*, the Committee wish it to be distinctly understood that by publishing them in the *Quarterly Statement* they do not necessarily sanction or adopt them.

Form of Bequest to the Palestine Exploration Fund.

I give to the Palestine Exploration Fund, London, the sum of __ __ to be applied towards the General Work of the Fund; and I direct that the said sum be paid, free of Legacy Duty, and that the Receipt of the Treasurer of the Palestine Exploration Fund shall be a sufficient discharge for the same.

Note.—*Three Witnesses are necessary to a Will by the Law of the United States of America, and Two by the Law of the United Kingdom.*

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING OF THE PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND.

The Fifty-first Annual General Meeting of the Palestine Exploration Fund was held in the Library of the Society, 2, Hinde Street, Manchester Square, on Thursday, June 22nd, 1916, at 4 p.m. The Meeting was held for business purposes only. Amongst those present were Dr. Leonard W. King, Chairman of the Executive Committee, Prof. A. C. Dickie, Col. Sir Henry Trotter, K.C.M.G., Prof. Edward Hull, and Mr. James Melrose.

On the motion of Sir Henry Trotter, seconded by Prof. Dickie, the chair was taken by Dr. King.

After the Minutes of the last General Meeting had been read and signed, the Chairman stated that the first item on the Agenda was the Resolution that the Report and Accounts for the year 1915 be received and adopted. This it would be his duty presently to move, but he would first like to express their great regret at the absence through illness of Mr. Crace, the Hon. Secretary. He was glad to say that in spite of his trying illness, he was able to continue giving his close attention to the affairs of the Society, and the speaker was sure that all would join in wishing Mr. Crace a speedy and complete recovery. (Hear, hear.) Letters of regret at their inability to attend had also been received from Mr. Morrison, Prof. Flinders Petrie, and Col. Fellowes. At the beginning of the Annual Meeting it was usual for the Secretary to make a report on the Membership, and to refer to any losses the Society might have sustained through death during the past year; and Mr. Crace had suggested that, in his absence, a few words might be said by the Chairman on that subject.

Of Members of the General Committee whose loss the Society had to deplore, there was one whose name he thought would at that moment be in the minds of all,—Lord Kitchener. It was well known that he had first made his mark as a geographer when working as a young lieutenant of Engineers upon the Staff of the Fund; and it was hardly necessary to say how much the great Survey of Western Palestine had owed to his energy and resource.

A few years later he had carried out the very difficult Survey of Sinai and the Wadi Arabah, when he accompanied Prof. Edward Hull, who, they were glad to see, was present at the Meeting. Since that time Lord Kitchener had always taken a keen interest in their researches. The Society had a right to be proud of the fact that his work as surveyor in Palestine should have laid the foundation of that marvellous knowledge of the East, on which he had built his career.

A more intimate loss which the Society had sustained was that of the Chairman of their Executive Committee, Colonel Sir Charles Watson. That was a loss which many of those present had felt and were feeling very deeply; and they needed no words of his to recall how unsparingly he had devoted himself to furthering their work and interests. Perhaps they would allow him to make the announcement then that, in memory of Sir Charles, Lady Watson had presented to the Society a selection of books from his Library, dealing with the history and antiquities of Palestine; she had also given an Egyptian amphora of the first century B.C. for the Museum, a map-cabinet, a number of antique chairs as additional furniture for the Museum, and a portrait of Sir Charles Watson, which was placed upon the table. He felt sure they would wish that the thanks of the Society be conveyed to Lady Watson for these valuable gifts. (Hear, hear.)

He regretted to have to report the death of one other Member of the General Committee, the Rev. W. F. Birch, who for many years past had acted as Local Secretary for Manchester.

The CHAIRMAN then moved formally that the Report and Accounts for the Year 1915, already printed and in the hands of subscribers, be received and adopted.

Prof. HULL, in seconding the Resolution, said that he could not express how deeply he sympathized in the losses sustained by the Society through the deaths of Lord Kitchener and Sir Charles Watson. He could add nothing to the Chairman's eulogy upon Lord Kitchener, and he would only refer briefly to Sir Charles Watson, whom he had first met years ago at the Trinity College Dinner in Dublin, when he learnt that they were both students of Trinity College. Sir Charles Watson's kindness and tact made him an admirable Chairman on that and every other occasion. The news of his death in the midst of his many activities had come upon all the Members as a terrible shock.

The CHAIRMAN then put the motion, which was carried unanimously.

Sir HENRY TROTTER proposed that Mr. P. J. C. McGregor, His Britannic Majesty's Consul at Jerusalem, be invited to join the General Committee. He had peculiar pleasure in moving this, as he had known Mr. McGregor well some five-and-twenty years ago, when he was his Vice-Consul in Syria, and a most efficient and capable colleague; and he had no doubt that his many talents and energies were fully as effective now as Consul at Jerusalem.

Prof. DICKIE, in seconding the Resolution, said that when he had been working in Palestine, he had come into contact with Mr. McGregor most pleasantly.

The CHAIRMAN then put the motion, which was carried unanimously.

Prof. EDWARD HULL proposed that the Executive Committee as now constituted be re-elected.

Mr. JAMES MELROSE seconded the Resolution, which was carried unanimously.

The CHAIRMAN then stated that the formal business of the Meeting having been concluded, it was usual at this point in their proceedings for a report to be made on the work of the Society during the past year; but in view of the exceptional circumstances under which they were meeting, when the work of the Society in the field was entirely suspended, they would not expect any report of that character. There were, however, one or two things which he thought should be said with regard to the working of the Society during the War. Their Assistant Secretary, Mr. Ovenden, had been for some time serving with the Colours, and his absence had necessitated certain changes, in arranging which Prof. Dickie had given them very great assistance. For the period of Mr. Ovenden's absence they had been fortunate in securing the services of Miss Estelle Blyth. Her association with the work of her father, the late Bishop Blyth of Jerusalem, and her experience of Eastern life and conditions, rendered her exceptionally fitted to help enquirers and correspondents. With regard to the Society's publications it should be stated that the revised Map of Palestine, which had been prepared, as well as the Map illustrating the recent Survey of Southern Palestine, had still to be held back for military reasons; this was, of course, a proper obligation, but it cost the Society a considerable loss in sales. In addition to the double

Annual Volume for 1914–15, which was issued in 1915, the Society had published Sir Charles Watson's most valuable summary of the Fund's researches since its foundation, under the title "Fifty Years' Work in the Holy Land." Their only other literary activity during the past year had been the publication of the *Quarterly Statement* as usual. It had indeed been suggested that this should be discontinued during the War, but he felt sure they would agree that the Executive Committee had been wise to continue its publication. He thought that Mr. Stanley Cook, the Editor, was to be congratulated on the very able way in which, in spite of great difficulties, he had succeeded in maintaining its high level of interest and scientific value. It was to be hoped that, after the War, circumstances would permit of the resumption of active work in Palestine.

Prof. HULL, in proposing a vote of thanks to the Chairman for presiding, said that he had forborne to add anything to his tribute to Lord Kitchener, though as a fellow-worker with him in Palestine over thirty years ago, he had many memories of him. He had sent a short account of this to the *Morning Post*, which Mr. Cook had permission from that paper to insert in the forthcoming *Quarterly Statement*, where he hoped Members of the Society would see it. He had very great pleasure in proposing a vote of thanks to the Chairman for the very kind and efficient way in which he had fulfilled his duties that afternoon.

Mr. MELROSE, who seconded the vote of thanks, said that the cloud of War just now overshadowed everything, and that it was impossible to carry on one's life in the same even way as before; but he trusted that the cloud would pass with the War, and that the work would reopen and expand in happier times.

Mr. HERBERT BIRCH, who also spoke to the motion, said that he was a brother of the late Hon. Secretary for Manchester, and that their acquaintance with the Palestine Exploration Fund dated from very early times, when, as travellers, he and his brother came across Lieut. Conder and Lieut. Kitchener, who were at work upon the survey and were then camping near Askelon. They had joined camp with the two officers for some little time, and had followed their work with the keenest interest. His remembrance of Lord Kitchener was of someone very tall, very agreeable, very silent, and very absorbed in his work. He and his brother had kept in touch with Lord Kitchener by correspondence since that date, often writing to ask his opinion upon subjects of Palestinian interest, and

the result was a number of most delightful and interesting letters from him, which they had always greatly treasured. He considered that the Palestine Exploration Fund might take credit for having "discovered" Lord Kitchener,—if he might use that word,—for it had given him scope to employ his wonderful talents and powers. The Palestine Exploration Fund deserved well of the Empire, and he hoped that, after the War, it would abound and flourish even more than in the past. He had always done his best to help the work, and he was more than ready now to assist it in any way he could. He warmly supported the vote of thanks to the Chairman.

The vote of thanks having been put to the Meeting by Prof. Hull and carried unanimously, the Chairman expressed his pleasure at seeing among them that afternoon such old friends and workers for the Society as Prof. Hull, Mr. Melrose, and Mr. Birch.

The proceedings then terminated.

LORD KITCHENER, K.G., G.C.B., O.M., G.C.M.G., R.E.

Of all the officers of the Royal Engineers who have rendered valuable service to the Palestine Exploration Fund, several attained high distinction in their own profession, and some a wide recognition of other talents; but no name has stood before the world with the same exceptional prominence as that of the late Lord Kitchener, whose whole remarkable career seems to have been influenced by the fact of his early connection with the work of the Palestine Exploration Fund. In that service, as a junior officer, he found his first opportunity of acquiring the Arabic language, and of studying the character of the Arab himself: and it was in turning the opportunity to good account that he laid the foundation of his subsequent connection with Egypt and the East.

In 1874, Lieut. Kitchener volunteered for the service of the Society's great Survey of Palestine, and went out as junior to Lieut. Conder, R.E. This expedition terminated abruptly in the summer of 1875, owing to the murderous attack upon the camp by the Moslem population of Safed. Both officers were injured, and it was decided to withdraw the party to England, where, for

[*To face p.* 122.

Photo. Alexander Bassano.

LIEUTENANT H. H. KITCHENER, R.E.
(ABOUT 1876.)

a year, they were engaged on laying down the map. Early in 1877 the party was again in Palestine under Kitchener's command, Conder being still invalided, and, by October of the same year, Kitchener was able to telegraph to the Committee that the great Survey of Western Palestine was completed. He remained for some months going over doubtful points throughout the country, and in September, 1878, he sailed for Cyprus to take up the command of the Ordnance Survey of that island, to which he had then been appointed.

We are fortunate in being able to present to our readers a good portrait of Lieut. Kitchener, taken at the period of his service to the Palestine Exploration Fund.

J. D. C.

LORD KITCHENER AND PALESTINE EXPLORATION.[1]

A GEOLOGICAL RECONNAISSANCE.

By Professor Edward Hull, LL.D., F.R.S.

While the country is mourning the loss of its greatest soldier may I be permitted to add to the numerous accounts we receive of Lord Kitchener's experiences by a few details of his earlier career, before he had risen to the high position he attained on defeating the Mahdi at the battle of Khartum? At the time I speak of (1883) he was in command of the British force in Cairo as Captain Kitchener, R.E., while Sir Evelyn Baring, now Lord Cromer, was Her Majesty's Consul-General for Egypt. It was towards the close of this year that the Committee of the Palestine Exploration Fund decided to undertake a geological reconnaissance of Western Palestine and the Sinaitic Peninsula, and it was on arriving in Egypt with the party under my command that I had an opportunity of making the acquaintance of this able public servant. Through the recommendation of the late Major-General Sir Charles W. Wilson, Kitchener received permission to join our party in order to carry out the trigonometrical survey of the region of the Arabah Valley, between the Sinaitic Peninsula on the south and Southern Palestine

[1] Reprinted from the *Morning Post*, June 12, with the kind permission of the editor and the author.

on the north; in other words between the Gulf of Akabah and the Dead Sea. Accompanied by Sergeant-Major Armstrong, R.E., he ascended Mount Sinai (Jebel Musâ), 7,373 feet above the sea, on Tuesday, 20th November, and planting his theodolite on the roof of the little Mosque took a series of angles on all the conspicuous heights within sight of that celebrated Mount wherewith to connect their positions with his base in Southern Palestine. This experiment was afterwards repeated on Mount Hor (Jebel Haroun), 4,780 feet above the Gulf of Akabah, the tomb of Aaron.

By the Shore of the Dead Sea.

On Sunday morning, December 16, we camped by the shore of the Dead Sea of Palestine, among the Ghawarneks, a settled tribe of Arabs cultivating the ground and herding camels. Here we were destined to remain for several days, including Christmas Day, awaiting the arrival of horses and mules from Jerusalem. Meanwhile, great events had occurred in Egypt during the six weeks we had been absent from Cairo and wandering along the Arabah Valley. Christmas Eve brought with it tidings from Cairo, the first we had received from the outer world up till this period, four Arabs of the Hawatat tribe, on swift camels, headed by a sheikh, arriving in the afternoon in our camp and bearing a letter addressed to me by Sir Evelyn Baring. It informed us of the defeat of General Hicks's army in the Sudan, and stated that some anxiety had been felt concerning us on the part of our friends, both in England and in Egypt, as the news of the disaster might have occasioned a hostile feeling amongst the Arabs towards Europeans. The letter was intended to put us on our guard should we perceive any symptoms of such feeling. The Arab party had tracked us step by step from Suez to Jebel Musâ, thence to Akabah, and then down the Arabah Valley to this spot. Being well mounted, they had accomplished the whole distance in twenty days. We were by no means sorry to have an addition to our party of four dependable Arabs, whose head sheikh in Cairo was held responsible for our safety. The messengers were accompanied by a small party of the "hawks" of Petra, who said we must now retrace our steps to Akabah, as "the infidel dogs" had been defeated.

I need not say how deeply grateful we all felt to Sir Evelyn Baring for the steps he had taken for our safety. The opportune arrival of Sheikh Arari, of Wâdy Musâ—the dominant lord of the

region, who was very friendly and agreed to accept a small sum by way of trespass money—smoothed all difficulties, and left the way open for our party to continue our progress to Jerusalem. The return of the Arabs to Cairo gave our valued companion an opportunity for returning to his duties in Egypt. Captain Kitchener took his departure for Cairo with his Arab escort, to organise a force to avenge the defeat of Hicks's army, as also to prepare for still further achievements. He little thought at that time of the great career that awaited him in the service of his country and in the cause of civilisation.

An Arabic Scholar.

I may add that from the time just referred to till that of Lord Kitchener's tragic death I have had the pleasure of regarding the great soldier as a personal friend, through the interchange of occasional correspondence and by some personal meetings. During our wanderings in the Sinaitic Desert his presence with our little party was a source of strength. On several occasions, such as that when he ascended Mount Hor and when others of the party elected to descend into the ancient capital of Arabia known as Petra, he was of exceptional service in negotiation with the Arabs (who evinced an intention to oppose our progress) owing to his knowledge of Arabic, which he spoke fluently, and to his acquaintance with the habits of the wild natives. It is doubtful if the Expedition would have accomplished its object to the full extent of the instructions of the Society by which it was organised without the presence of its ablest member, whose loss we now mourn.

OCCASIONAL PAPERS ON THE MODERN INHABITANTS OF PALESTINE.

By Dr. E. W. G. Masterman and Prof. R. A. S. Macalister.

Tales of Welys and Dervishes.

(*Continued from Q.S.*, 1916, *p.* 71.)

The story of the Burning of the Nessub *(the Pedigree) of Sultān Badr.*

Mention has before been made of Sheikh Aḥmed el-'Ajameh, the nakīb (administrator) of Sultān Badr. This man had a number of relatives with him during the lifetime of the Sultān, and their descendants are known as the family of 'Ajameh to-day. They do not, however, really belong to the noble family of Sultān Badr. Once there was a quarrel between the two tribes (ḥamuleh), and the descendants of Sultān Badr began to taunt the others by saying: "You are servants of our lord and now you have become more proud than we are." The feud in time led to bloodshed, until at length no member of one tribe could meet one of the other without quarrelling. It is the custom among the fellaḥīn that a tribe in such a difficulty should leave its village and take refuge with some noble people ('arrāf), until these latter can settle the dispute. The family of 'Ajameh thus withdrew themselves and went and lived at Beit 'Atāb with the sheikhs of Laḥḥām, who were then all-powerful in the district. After they had spent much time there they sought for an opportunity to rob the *nessub* (genealogical tree) from the family of Sheikh Muḥammad, the most important of the descendants of Sultān Badr. One day, therefore, when they knew that Sheikh Muḥammad was in his house alone, they broke in and took from him by force the *nessub* and carried it to Beit 'Atāb. They told the sheikhs of Laḥḥām that they had fought Sheikh Muḥammad, and captured the *nessub* in battle. They then sat down and found, after reading the *nessub*, that the family of 'Ajameh was not mentioned, and that they really did not belong to the noble family of Sultān Badr. When they found this out they changed the names of the

descendants of Sultān Badr, so as to make it appear that he was their ancestor, so that they should have a right to use the wakf of the sultān, and share in all the income of the property. When they had finished their forgery they said to each other: "If this affair becomes public, and people begin asking about the *nessub*, they will find out our treachery. It is better for us that we destroy the old *nessub* and then, if the *nessub* is asked for, we will say this (the new one) is the genealogy of our fathers, and we have a right to the wakf." So they took the old *nessub* and put it on the fire, but the fire would not burn it, so they soaked it in petroleum and still it would not burn. And a watchman of the crops, a Mughrabi, who was there, offered to burn it for them for a reward. And they offered him money, but he refused. He then said I will do it for you if you will give me one of your maidens in marriage, but, if you refuse, I will inform against you. So, in fear lest the affair would become known, they accepted the offer of the Mughrabi. Then he took the *nessub* and defiled it with dung, and it became unclean, and when he cast it on the fire it was at once consumed. But the Mughrabi who married the girl had no children, and one day, when he was sleeping in the shade of a rock, a hyaena came and ate him. And the 'Ajamehs are now scattered in the land and are mostly poor, and, though they receive money from their property, they have no blessing in it. And the people who gave them protection—the family of Laḥḥām—who once were the greatest sheikhs, now have no honour paid them, and no one accepts their judgment, and many are reduced to poverty. And all this is on account of the anger of Sultān Badr. And those who burned the *nessub* are now called the *dar esh-Sherīf*, because the *nessub* is now written in their name.

Story of Sheikh Merzūk.

Sheikh Merzūk was a slave whom Sultān Badr used to station upon the summit of a high mountain to the east of Deir esh-Sheikh to keep a look out for the enemy in the time of war and *Jehad*. One day Sheikh Merzūk became very ill, at the point of death, and the sultān reassured him and told him not to be afraid, for he would nourish him and take care of him and allow no one to injure him. Nevertheless, Sheikh Merzūk died and was buried upon the mountain top where he had been accustomed to keep watch. And many olive, oak and kharūb trees were planted around his makām,

which became waḳf to him. One day a man from the village of er-Rās came to the place and plundered the olive trees, and began to return to his village with the stolen goods upon his donkey. But on the way the load fell off and he found his donkey was blind, and when he emptied the olives from the sack he found they had all turned into cockroaches. So he quickly refilled the sack, reloaded the donkey and returned to the scene of his robbery. When he got there and poured the contents of the sack on the ground he found they were all olives again. Leaving the olives there he went to the forest and cut wood for making ploughs and sticks for hoes, but when he had carried the wood beyond the waḳf property the sticks turned in his hands into serpents, and the larger pieces for ploughs, which he had loaded on the donkey, became tortoises. And the serpents began to twine themselves upon his body and upon the donkey. To save himself he left the donkey and fled home without stopping. But when his wife saw him she was afraid because his skin had become as black as charcoal and his tongue was tied so that he could not utter a word. And she ran and fetched his relations who at once began to question him. He replied as well as he could by signs, and when they understood they went off to bring the donkey lest the load still on its back should betray them. They searched all day, and at length, late in the afternoon, they found the donkey, still loaded, sheltered beneath a kharūb tree. While they were unloading the wood from its back they saw to their astonishment that there were dates growing on the kharūb tree. So they made up their minds to leave the donkey there and return at night to plunder the tree. On reaching the spot that night they found the donkey lying in the same place with a hyaena lying asleep beside it, At this they were much afraid, and, for fear of the hyaena, dared not approach the donkey. And while they hesitated, suddenly a voice like thunder exclaimed "These are robbers, seize them." They at once turned to run away but were unable to move a single step, and had to remain fixed in their places till the morning. Meanwhile, the wife of the man having become tired of waiting, and fearing that someone had seized her relations while they were in the midst of their robbery, went to the Mukhtar of the village, who was also a relative, and told him all that had happened. The Mukhtar took some people with him and went in search of the men. At length he found them standing near the donkey and the hyaena. The latter, however, at

once ran away. And the whole party with the donkey went to the summit of the mountain to the maḳām of the wely. And there they removed their shoes and recited the fatḥah to Sultān Badr, and they all took a solemn oath that they would never return near the waḳf of Sheikh Merzūḳ, and they imposed on themselves and the owner of the donkey the rule that every one of them should bring a jug of oil annually to the wely. Thus it is you see in this maḳām jugs of oil and lamps and jars and incense and candle ends. And many women bring, each one, a jug of oil or a coffee cup of oil when any of her household is sick, and they leave these bringing back some of the oil in the maḳām with which they rub the sick. Other women also take herbage from the neighbourhood and make a fumigation (baḫūr) for the sick. Others also take seven small stones for healing which, by the will of God, will be effectual.

Another Story of Sheikh Merzūḳ.

Once, when a couple of herdsmen were passing the maḳām of Sheikh Merzūḳ they found among the many jars lying there two almost full of oil. And they filled some vessels from the jars and took them home, and having closed the mouths of the vessels with clay they put them away against the time they should need them. And after this they returned to look after their cattle. At the place where they were accustomed to feed their cattle were two vines and a fig tree. And one of the men began to climb the fig tree. While he was doing this one of the cows began to eat leaves from one of the trees of the wely and immediately the branch of the fig tree where the herdsman was, broke off, and the man was precipitated to the ground, and broke his foot and had to be carried to the maḳām. The cow, startled by the fall, ran away and fell from the top of the mountain to the valley below and was so badly injured that she had to be killed, and the meat sold for next to nothing.

Half a year later some soldiers came to the herdsmen's house to collect taxes and as the latter had no money they fetched the vessels of oil, intending to sell the oil and raise money for the tax collector. What was their dismay to find them empty, although after the most careful search they could find neither hole nor crack out of which the oil could have escaped. Having no money to pay, and being hard pressed by the government they had, to bargain to herd

the cow of one of the villagers for the whole year without payment in return for the owner advancing the needed money.

And when one day after this they were herding their cattle around the maḳām of Sheikh Merzūḳ, they entered the makām and found all the jugs and lamps as full of oil as before.[1]

Story about Sheikh Munjid.

Sheikh Munjid was one of the sons of Sultān Badr and his maḳām is at Tell es-Sāfi. Belonging to this maḳām is a garden in which there are fig trees. A man whose land joined on to this waḳf property was one day making a wall of loose stones, and seeing some suitable stones in the garden of the maḳām he entered and began to roll them towards his own property. And as the work was heavy he brought in the afternoon a camel to carry the stones. While the camel was going through the garden of the makām it seized a branch of a fig tree there and at once its neck became withered and it was unable to swallow the branch. And when the man noticed this, he made the camel kneel down and loaded it up with stones, but when he wanted to make it rise up it could not, even though the man beat it, because it could not move its neck. The man saw at once that the camel was doomed, and began to unload it before it died, but now he was unable to get the stones off its back. At this moment a woman passed along the road and the man sent her to the village with a message to his brother and his wife that they should come to him at once. And the woman found the brother sitting with some other villagers at the door of the wely of Sheikh Munjid and gave her message. And the brother rose up and went with his friends, among whom was the servant of the wely, to the garden, and there they saw the camel with the fig-branch in its mouth, and its neck dried up and unable to move. Then the servant of the wely exclaimed: "This has all happened to you because you were robbing stones from the garden of the wely, for these stones belong to the grave of a pious man, as you can see by the inscription on them. But now all of you clear away from the camel." And he took the halter in his hand and exclaimed: "Stand up in the name of God and in the secret power (سِرّ) of Sheikh Munjid." Immediately the loaded camel arose and walked before all the crowd. And he walked to the door of the wely of

[1] The implication being that the oil which had disappeared from their vessels had been supernaturally restored to the wely.

Sheikh Munjid and there he sat down and the stones were removed from his back and were rested against the sides of the door. This man, the servant of the wely, was named Sheikh 'Ali es-Suri; he came from Beit Nattīf. He was a dervish who had received his gifts from Sheikh Muhammad, the servant of Sultān Badr.

These inscribed stones remained at the door of the wely a long time, until one day some Christian monks passed that way on their way to visit el-Khudr, and they admired these stones very much and paid the mukhtar of the village, 'Abd el-Karīm, to bring the stones to them. This he did, sharing the money with Sheikh 'Ali. And in consequence of selling these stones of the pious people all Abd el-Karim's children died in one year, and the Sheikh 'Ali got a pain in his foot which developed into a sore beside his ankle, which remained open to his death.

Story of Sheikh Hūbāny.

There is a makām near Beit 'Atāb called after Sheikh el-Hubāny, which is held in much honour: no one swearing falsely by him can escape the evil consequences. As an example of this the following tale is told. Once there was a quarrel between the people of el-Kabu and those of Rās Abu 'Amār over the robbery of a goat. It was well known that the latter people had stolen the goat from the people of Kabu and that the goat was in the possession of a certain individual. But the robber himself denied the whole story. At length the people of Kabu demanded that the robber should take an oath with Sheikh Hūbāny on a Friday after the mid-day prayers. This was agreed to, and all the people assembled at Sheikh Hubāny at the appointed time. The shepherds of Kabu began to advise the people of Rās Abu 'Amār to come to terms without swearing, because it was universally known that Sheikh Hubāny was revengeful and that harm would happen; for it was a public secret that the Rās Abu 'Amār people really had the goat. The people replied: "We have no goat, and you have no claim against us except to make us take the oath." And when they reached the makām the father of the supposed thief went in and took the oath. What usually happened was that if anyone left the makam after having perjured himself the wely began to gnash his teeth like a fasting camel. This time nothing of the kind occurred, and the suspected man exclaimed: "We have now taken the oath and now you have no claim against us. Let the wely rise up himself

and reveal where your goat is." This was making a mock of the wely. But when all the people had gone out the goat's owner entered the maḳam and said: "O my lord Sheikh Ḥūbāny, I take refuge in you, and my hope was that you would reveal the justice of my claim against these people before they left here. And now they have taken an oath and think lightly of you, while I put my trust in you because I knew that you were very vengeful against perjurers in your name. And now I am treated unjustly, and I am a poor man and have no one but you to reveal my rightful claim against these people." And he approached the stones of the sheikh's tomb and kissed them and departed. And as he came out he found a crowd collected round a horse belonging to Rās Abu 'Amār which was fallen to the ground; this horse was the property of the father of the thief. And at this moment a man came running from the village of Rās Abu 'Amār, who said to the father of the robber: "Hasten home, because your son is dangerously ill, and if you have not yet taken the oath do not do so, but please come to terms with the people of Ḳabu, because since you left home to take this oath your son has been taken ill and is now at the point of death."

And the father arose and began to make peace with the people of Ḳabu and to beg for their forgiveness. But the people of Ḳabu when they saw what disasters had occurred said: "We are ourselves now altogether satisfied, but you have now to make your peace with the wely in whose name you have perjured yourself. We told you many times that it was better to settle this affair satisfactorily without an oath. You must now save yourself from the wely." So the people of Rās Abu 'Amār made a sacrifice at the wely, and they entertained all the people of Ḳabu, and then they departed.

Story about Sheikh Ḥūbāny.

It happened one day that a man from Beit 'Atāb, who had been ploughing near Sheikh Ḥubāny, decided, at the approach of evening, to leave his plough to the guardianship of the wely, instead of carrying it home. He put his plough and goad in the maḳam and went to his village. By chance a man from Gaza, who had just stolen a donkey from Bittīr, passed that way in the night. As he was very wet from the rain, and dared not go to the village because it was so near to Bittīr, he decided to sleep in the wely. He reached the door of the wely and tried to get the donkey to enter, but it refused to do so. After a great deal of vain effort, he

tied the donkey near the door and went in. On entering, he found the plough there, and exclaimed, "Thank God, now I shall be able to plough the fields. Before break of day I will carry off the plough on my donkey's back." Accordingly, when he arose from sleep, he seized hold of the plough and started to leave the wely, but could not cross the threshold. It seemed to him as if he was held fast by someone who kept pulling him back as long as he held the stolen property. Then he began to hear a roaring sound and a voice, as if a man wanted to rush on him; this was followed by a roaring like an excited camel and by a gnashing of teeth. And he looked at the maḳām, and, lo, it was shaking like a tree moved by the wind, rolling up and down. When he saw these signs, which he knew were made by the wely to protect the property committed to his care, he stood still in fear. Now while he did so the iron part of the plough fell on his foot and pierced it and entered the ground, pinning down his foot like a nail, and he was unable to move on account of the agony. When dawn appeared, the owner of the plough found the donkey outside the wely, and the man in this predicament inside. And when he asked what had occurred, the robber confessed that he had stolen the donkey from Bittîr, and begged the newcomer, for God's sake, to carry him out of the maḳām, because he felt as if he were choking. But the man, fearing lest the robber's relations should accuse him of the misfortunes which had occurred, went to Beit 'Atāb to bring some witnesses. And the people of the village, together with the Sheiḳh Aḥmed esh-Sherîf, the dervish, came and found the robber with the iron through his foot, and he narrated to them all he had told to the other man. The people tried to lift the robber but they were unable to pluck the iron out of the ground, it being fixed in the ground like a nail driven into wood. At last Sheiḳh Aḥmed esh-Sherîf drew near and read the fatḥah, and said: "O my lord, O Ḥūbāny, for the honour of my grandfather, Sultān Badr, relieve this man." At once the iron sprang out of the ground and the men took the robber to their village, and sent word to his own village, Suwâfîr, that his relations should come and fetch him. And when they came and looked at the wound in his foot they found it full of maggots. And they exclaimed: "O God! God, how strong is your power, O Ḥūbāny, that the worms begin to eat a man while he lives." And the people took the man away, but, before he reached his village, he died.

Story about Sheikh Sālaḥ abu Lebban.

This Sheikh Sālaḥ was one of the descendants of Abd el-Kader; there are many now in the village of Zakariyeh who claim descent from him. Sheikh Sālaḥ used to live in Deir 'Abān, and a son of his, a shepherd, lived at Khurbet Mejenah. One day two men of Kuriet el-Brij had a quarrel, in which one killed the other. The murderer fled from Brīj and took refuge with the son of Sheikh Sālaḥ at Khurbet Mejenah, for fear of blood-vengeance. The relations of the murdered man learned where the murderer was hiding, from a villager of Sur'ār. The murderer had told his protector why he had come, and, to help him, the son of Sheikh Salaḥ had changed clothes with him. When the blood avengers from Brīj reached the Khurbet, they stood around the mouth of the cave, while the man from Sur'ah came to the entrance. He reported that there was a man sleeping inside alone in the cloak which he had seen on the murderer, and they drew near and killed him without knowing who he was, and fled away thinking that they had taken blood-vengeance. But the victim was the son of Sheikh Sālaḥ. When the news came to the ears of the old sheikh, he cried out: "Thank God that it is my son that is killed, and not the man who came to him for protection, for that would have been a disgrace." He knew, however, who was really responsible for his son's death; not the people of Brīj, but the man who had led them there: and he determined upon revenge. So some days later, when going towards Sur'ār, the Sheikh found this man watering his flock by the roadside, and exclaimed: "Not everyone who can kill people's children can himself escape. I shall now take vengeance upon you for my son," and he drew his sword and killed him. He then collected the goats that were with him and departed to Deir 'Abān, leaving the dead man beside the well. The people of Sur'ār saw all this happen, and, having taken up the body and buried it, they went to the governor of the country, the head of the house of Laḥḥām at Beit 'Atāb. (The government of the land was then in the hands of those powerful sheikhs.) When the people of Sur'ār had told their story to the sheikhs of Deir Laḥḥām, the sheikhs summoned Sheikh Salaḥ abu Lebban to appear before them. But he refused, and sent a message as follows: "I will not come, I will not listen to your government, I am not under your command, If you are sheikhs, and the descendants of sheikhs, and have

power among the people, I am greater than you. I am the son of a sultan, and have more people with me. If they want to make war I will bring against them fighting men more in number than the ants." The messenger returned and told the sheikhs all that had happened, and what Sheikh Sālaḥ had said: so the people of Deir Laḥḥām sent information to Abu Nabbūt in Jaffa, the most powerful sheikh in the district, who summoned Sheikh Sālaḥ to appear before him. And when Abu Nabbūt asked the sheikh, "Did you kill the man," he replied: "Yes, I killed him in blood-vengeance for my son, for this is the law, if one does a murder he must be murdered." Abu Nabbut gave orders that Sheikh Sālaḥ should be hanged; but when the sheikh heard of "hanging," he drew near to Abu Nabbūt and opened his mouth wide. And Abu Nabbūt saw in his mouth "a sea and ships." And Abu Nabbūt was afraid, and exclaimed: "Pardon me, O Sheikh Sālaḥ, and ask from me whatever you need." And Sheikh Sālaḥ said: "I want you to forgive me all the taxes due on my land." Abu Nabbūt replied: "I forgive them, and I give to you also for yourself the taxes on the Wady es-Sur'ār for fifteen years, because this is the land on which your son was killed." So Sheikh Sālaḥ was released from custody and departed to his village; and he took the taxes from all the villages in Wādy es-Sur'ār to the day of his death.

When, after many years, Sheikh Sālaḥ became ill, he asked to be taken to his village, Zakariyeh, and, after a time, he realized that his illness was mortal. So he summoned his relatives around him and told them that that night he should be removed in God's mercy. "Don't trouble," he said, "about me, but I will now tell you my place of burial. Go and dig me a grave in the maḳām of the Nebi Zakariyeh," and he indicated the exact spot. And they went to Nebi Zakariyeh and began to dig. But the sheikh, as he was lying on his bed at home, exclaimed: "The place where they are digging is not the right one. I know because I hear the sound of the *fas* (pick) in the ground. Go and tell them." And the messengers went and gave the diggers fresh directions, and when they dug at the place indicated they found an unused grave, roofed with flat stones (سواقيف) as if the mason had just made it. In the night the sheikh died, as he had said, and they took him to the Nebi, and washed the body, and put on the shroud, and offered prayers and buried him there. And no others of the house of Deir Lebban is there buried: if they were to bury in

the grave of Sheikh Sālah, that same year many of the family would die. Also, it is believed, if anyone wants to know the antecedents of Deir Lebban and consults the books, he will die the same year. And if a dervish, belonging to the family, reveals their secrets, or performs a miracle, he dies the same year.

Story of Sheikh Shehādy in Abu Dīs.

There is a dervish called Sheikh Shehādy, belonging to Beit Unia, who was long accustomed to go about among the many villages in the neighbourhood of his home. Many of the people believe in him, that he is a holy man, and they get amulets from him (حجاب) as a cure for fever. He also fans (lit. "blows") the sick people with his aba (cloak). One day when the sheikh was sitting in Abu Dīs with the "noble" people, who belong to the family of 'Arakāt, a woman drew near and said: "O, my lord Sheikh Ishhādy, I beg you to accompany me to my house and see Khalīl. He asked from what he was suffering, and she replied: "He has just arrived from Jericho ill with fever. He has headache, and his skin is hot like fire, and he drinks much water and is continually vomiting." And when the sheikh came to the house he found Khalīl delirious, and he said: "There is no refuge or power except in God. That which has happened to Khalīl is not fever, but a jinn has entered into him which can only be expelled with very great effort." Safīyeh, the wife, replied: "Thank God, that you my lord are here, and by the permission of God and the power of your ancestors you will restore him to health. You will have from us a vow before the face of God. But Khalīl is a Muslim and poor and he has a family, my lord." The sheikh said: "Now everything must be done as I say, or he will not get better." Safīyeh and her relations replied: "Do what you will, we deliver him to God and to you." Then the sheikh told everyone to go out and sent Safīyeh to bring him a stick and a rope. When she returned he tied Khalīl hand and foot, and shut the door, and having turned back the bed clothes began beating Khalīl with the stick, shouting out: "Come out, O Isaac!" And the sick man began to cry out with pain and exclaimed: "Take this man away from me, he is killing me, he is killing me, he is killing me!" And the sheikh continued his beating and would let no one come to his help, and would not let his wife speak to him while he continued to exclaim: "Come out,

O Isaac!" And he told Safiyeh not to answer her husband, because the speaker was not Khalil but Isaac. "This Isaac is a jinn who comes from Salonica, and he has entered into Khalil." And Khalil, on account of the many blows, was unable to stand, and cried out to his wife: "This man is killing me, I am at the point of death. Take him away and give me some water to drink. I am going to die, you cursed woman, why do you stand by and not help me?" The sheikh said: "Do not give him water, for the speaker is Isaac"; and he increased the violence of the blows, saying: "Come out, O Isaac, I know you come from Salonica to make mock of Khalil and Safiyeh." And the sick man was unable to utter a word, and beckoned with his hand that his wife should give him water. But the sheikh stopped her, saying: "Isaac will soon come out, but if you give him water he will return." And he increased his efforts, until at length, after a severe blow on his side, Khalil said no more and became lifeless. And when the sheikh saw this he said: "Now Isaac has left him and he is at rest. Give me his aba." And he covered him with it, and directed that he was to be left undisturbed until he woke. And he made the wife come out and locked the door, and then joined some of the 'Arakāt people in one of the houses. But Safiyeh and her friends waited long for Khalil to wake, but when in the late afternoon there was no movement they persuaded Safiyeh to go inside. And when she came in she saw him sleeping, and she put her hand to his head to see if he was perspiring, but to her horror it was cold as snow. And she called the others and they found the man was dead, and that Sheikh Shehādy had killed him. And they searched for him and found him with a son of 'Arakat, and wanted to kill him there, but the man protected him. And they went to the governor of Jerusalem and laid information against Shehādy, and the governor came with a doctor and examined the corpse, and then took the sheikh to Jerusalem. And they asked him why he had killed the man and he replied: "It was not I, but Isaac the jinn who killed him; while he was coming out of him he caught him by the throat and killed him."

All this happened quite recently; Sheikh Shehādy was in prison just before the War, and may very likely be there still.

(*To be continued.*)

ARCHAEOLOGICAL NOTES ON JEWISH ANTIQUITIES.

By Joseph Offord.

(*Continued from Q.S.*, 1916, *p.* 97.)

XII. *Abel and Cuneiform* Ibila.

Many years ago Prof. Julius Oppert suggested that Abel (Heb. *Hebel*) was a word closely connected with the Babylonian *Ablu* (or *Ablum*), "son." So many cuneiform legal documents concerning family affairs, dating from the earlier Babylonian dynasties, have recently been edited, that we know considerably more about the uses and meaning of the word *Ablu*; and the new information may perhaps throw an indirect light upon the story of Cain and Abel. The Sumerian equivalent of *Ablu* has been identified as *ibila*, thus carrying back its origin into that language. Two fresh etymologies also have been offered for the ideograms of this word. One by M. Pognon, that it comes from *A-Bal*, "an offerer of libations," literally "water pourer," from *A* "water" and *Bal* "to pour out" (*A-Bal* = *nâq mê*). Another suggestion, by M. Thureau-Dangin, is that its sense is "to burn oil." Both these conceptions would be connected with the filial function of the son as making offerings to his father's spirit, or to the deity upon the parent's behalf. Consequently, the terms for libation, or the lighting of a lamp for family or ancestral worship, may be descendants from the word for son, or *vice versâ*.

Ungnad and Pognon have also shown that the ideograms for *Ibila* = *Ablu* could be separated into two words, "child," and "to follow" (*ridû*)[1] Also into "child," and *nita* "male" (*zikaru*), that is to say, successor, heir, and this is almost certainly the meaning of the compound ideogram. *Ablu* or *Aplu* = *Ibila*, therefore, was principally employed as a term for the offspring who became heir; though at times it was the expression for an inheritor, whether that person was a child or a more distant relative.[2]

[1] As illustrating the true meaning of *ridû*, P. Koschaker quotes a phrase *rîdit warkati*, "he who succeeds" to the heritage. See *Revue d'Assyriologie*, XI, p. 29.

[2] Thus from *Aplu* comes *aplûtu*, a legal term for sonship and for adoption. See *Cuneiform Texts*, II, 40, where A is said to be Abil, that is, heir of B.

Koschaker adduces numerous instances in contracts for sale wherein a formula is used undertaking not to attempt to rescind the bargain, saying, that for the future neither the vendor nor his *ibila*, whoever he may be, will make any reclamation (*uku-să V. u, ibila-ni a-na-me-a-bi inini-nu-um mal-mal-a*). He also shows[1] that a female is never definitely stated to be an *ibila*; but only in cases where, apparently, male heirs were wanting, one is said to have taken the position of *ibila* when succeeding to the parent. He cites one instance wherein a man makes his sister his *a-bil-ta*, or heiress (from *abiltu* the feminine of *Ablu*).

The suggestive reason for these remarks is that by the name which Eve gave to Abel there may have been some indication that it was hoped he would become the heir. Therefore when his sacrifice was accepted and Cain's rejected, the latter seeing possibly some divine intimation that such was ordained to be the case, maddened with evil jealousy, slew his brother. There certainly are Babylonian concepts contained in the story. For instance, Cain was *Akh, i.e.*, brother of Abel; compare the cuneiform *Akhu*, which signified "protector," "sidesman"; a significant title for a brother in primitive times. Yet Cain scornfully answered: "Am I my brother's keeper?"

The "Lier in Wait"—Sin—was connected with such Mesopotamian demons as *Râbizu* and *Gurra*, who in protective magic texts were termed *Râbizu abullisu*, "Liers in wait at the door" of (a man's residence).

So also in Egypt in the tableaux of the "Judgment of Osiris," the "Lier in Wait" is depicted as a fearsome composite animal waiting to attack the unfortunate deceased who failed to pass muster.

XIII. *The Bird* Gozal *and Babylonian* Guzalû.

The word *gôzal* (גּוֹזָל) in Gen. xv, 9, and Deut. xxxii, 11, for a bird, is not quite clear to scholars as to its meaning, because it is variously rendered as "young pigeon" and as "eaglet."[2] A significant, if not complete explanation of the term is derivable by way of the cuneiform writings, but by a rather circuitous course. The solution has been suggested by M. Alfred Boissier, who proceeds by reference to the not very theological author Rabelais.

[1] *Revue d'Assyriologie*, XI, 94.

[2] Payne Smith, *Thesaurus Syriacus*, renders *pullas aerium.*

He speaks in *Pantagruel* of a messenger-bird, or carrier pigeon, which he specially designates as the *Gozal*, or "celestial messenger," and explains how this bird was utilized to carry dispatches. This is probably a derivative of the old Babylonian word *Guzalû*, but how, or whence, Rabelais obtained knowledge of it we cannot say, unless from some old manuscript of magical or astrological character, now lost; for many mediaeval astrological and mystical treatises, like the *Oneirocritica* of Artemidorus, which is the foundation for the later "Dream Books," contain Babylonian concepts and names. Of course, again, Rabelais may have gained his information from Syrian colonists in the south of France, such as those of which Gregory of Tours writes.

The *Guzalû* of old Mesopotamia was the divine messenger, the dispatch bearer of the gods. Thus Ninip in the "Gilgames Epic" was the herald deity. The Malachbel of Syria and Palmyra is "Bel's Messenger," מלאך: as the Hadad of Baalbek, or Jupiter of Heliopolis, in an inscription is called "I(ovi) o(ptimo) maximo angelo Heliopolitano," see Malachi iii, 1. The eagle of Zeus and the wings of Hermes suggest their *rôle* as messengers. As such, in representations of him upon the monuments or seals, he has a bird companion, an eaglet or a vulture. By whom, or when, this theophoric title for the Babylonian Hermes[1] was adopted for the carrier pigeon who carries his message across the sky, we do not know, but the idea of connecting *Gozal* = *guzalû* with a young pigeon occurs as noted in the A.V. of Genesis.

XIV. *The Habiri of the Tell el-Amarna Tablets and the Hebrews.*

All interested in the ancient history of Palestine are acquainted with the frequent mention of a people, or of troops, entitled Habiri (or Khabiri) in the Tell el-Amarna tablet dispatches from the Syrian governors and petty princes in Palestine to their Egyptian Pharaoh overlords.

Several writers have argued that these Habiri were identical with the Hebrews, or Israelites, and some, although chronological difficulties render the theory impossible, have thought that the Habiri of the Tell el-Amarna texts were really the tribes under Joshua. Prof. L. B. Paton, in his *Early History of Syria and Palestine*, considers the Khabiri to have been close Aramean relatives of the patriarchs.

[1] See Homer's *θεῶν ἄγγελος, κῆρυξ.*

New evidence clearing up the matter has just been produced by Père Scheil in the *Revue d'Assyriologie*. He proves from a cuneiform tablet which records the providing of uniforms for officers of the Habiri at Larsa, that they were a military force, or militia, employed by the Babylonian king Rim-Sin some six centuries before the era of the Tell el-Amarna tablets.

Pere Scheil shows that the Habiri served the Elamite dynasty of Larsa, and later, other Babylonian kings, as a sort of gendarmerie, and that they were probably chiefly of Elamite, or Kassite, extraction. They seem to have been mostly employed in maintaining Mesopotamian influence among the nomad tribes west of the Euphrates and in Syria. In later times they were utilized to support all anti-Egyptian sentiments and forces, and hence they continually appear in the Tell el-Amarna dispatches as assisting chiefs and cities who were endeavouring to separate themselves from every semblance of Egyptian suzerainty. Dr. Winckler and Père Scheil show that a cuneiform title for the Habiri was an ideogram *Su-Gas*, "The killers or fighters." They were, for Babylonian monarchs, like the auxiliaries of foreign origin so freely enlisted and employed by the Roman emperors to assist their legions. The Babylonians also had men of Guti and Assyrians whom they utilized in a similar manner.

XV. *Propagation of Plague by Insects and Rodents in the Old Testament and Monumental Records.*

In the *Quarterly Statement* for 1914, pp. 140–146, I published a summary of some "Coincidences between Hebrew and Cuneiform Literature." Several of the instances therein adduced concerned matters connected with the distribution of disease by insects and rodents. Recently, various confirmations of the coincidences there pointed out have come to my knowledge, some of which are worthy of record.

With regard to the fact of contagion being caused by flies having been recognized in antiquity, as evidenced by the deity Baal Zebub and others, the following fact is of much interest. In the *Mémoires de la Delegation en Perse*, Vol. VI, p. 50, Père Scheil gives a translation from a cuneiform text upon an amulet, presumably discovered at Susa, which gives an incantation against mosquitoes. He renders the words thus—"Mosquito, mosquito, fly thou away." Then follow some words, at present difficult to understand clearly, apparently connecting the insect, apostrophized as "little one," with refuse or filth.

The important word of this meaning is *pigali* = Hebrew פגל. The Babylonian term which Père Scheil gives as signifying mosquito is *zuzzili;* evidently a "sound"—or "onomatopoetic"—word imitating the noise made by the insect when in flight.[1] Other interesting instances in this matter are provided by the engravings of flies upon two Babylonian cylinder-seals. A photograph of the tableau upon the first of these is to be found numbered 121 in the collection of cylinders and other Oriental seals in the library of Mr. J. Pierpont Morgan. Upon it is depicted a fly, which is engraved beside a figure of the god Nergal, who was a well-known Mesopotamian disease deity.

The second specimen of the kind is to be found upon a similar cylinder, which is assigned by Dr. Stephen Langdon to the Hammurabi era. In this instance, a two-winged fly is placed in the field of the scene, in front of a goddess. The fly symbol is to be found upon other cylinder seals as shown by Dr. Theophilus G. Pinches, as well as by Dr. Langdon.[2]

The foregoing instances prove that the Palestine Baal-Zebub and the insect deity of Ekron were not merely Amorite or Canaanite gods, but had their counterparts in the Babylonian or Elamite pantheons. It was mentioned when speaking of the Ekron Insect-god that Josephus gives for his title Μυῖα, and it should be pointed out that this reminds us of the Zeus Apomios of Olympia, and of the Hero of Askalon, Muiagros.[3]

Some time ago Prof. Sayce published an ex-voto found in Egypt, consisting of a bronze rat. It bore a dedication in the Carian script "To the Rat Destroyer: this rat has (been) consecrated."[4]

This Destroyer is clearly Apollo Smyntheus, and this renders it doubly interesting that the metal rat bears a duplicate inscription in Egyptian hieroglyphs reading, "To Atum, the great god, giver of life and health." Therefore the writer considered the Egyptian

[1] [Compare *silsal* in Hebrew, used of the whizzing spear in Job xli, 7, and of the buzzing or whirring of insects' wings in Isaiah xviii, 1. The form *zuzzili* (above) could easily stand for *zulzili*.—Ed.]

[2] Dr. S. Langdon, "A Cylinder-Seal of the Hammurabi Period," in *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, XXXIV, 1912, p. 152; Dr. T. G. Pinches, *ibid.*, XXXIII, p. 132.

[3] Some translators, such as M. Heuzey, read Zebub as the name of a town in the Tell el-Amarna tablets, and associate with this the Old Testament Baal Zebub.

[4] *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, 1896, p. 176.

health deity, Atum, as the equivalent of the Asiatic-Hellenic Apollo, to whom rats and mice were offered.

XVI. *Sheol and the Babylonian Land of Shades.*

The cruel battle-net of Babylonian conquerors which was mentioned as being depicted upon the ancient monument from Telloh, known as the Vulture Stele,[1] is closely allied to a net in a similar scene upon another stele. This is a relief of the time of a king of Semitic race, named Sharrugi. He was lord of Kish, and his memorial is published by M. Gautier in the *Recueil de Travaux*, XXVII, p. 170. The close connexion of this net of death with an evil fate is interestingly illustrated by a statement by Prof. Barton, who in translating an archaic cuneiform tablet, now at Philadelphia, explains that the seventeenth sign, which is in the form of a net, he renders as meaning "curse," because of the common Babylonian phrase "curse is a net," and this translation of the sign suits the meaning of the sentence very well.

With reference to further found coincidences between cuneiform literature and the old Hebrew conceptions of Sheol and the dreaded Net of Destiny, which gathered in its folds Sheol's coming denizens, and which Net was worshipped at Babylon and elsewhere (see Habakkuk i, 15, 16), the following corroborative evidence is valuable. The famous inscription descriptive of Babylonian edifices, examined and hastily published by George Smith and subsequently lost but recently refound, informs us that at the base of the Ê-temen-an-ki, or Tower of Babel, were situated four smaller temples, and that one of these was the special shrine of the Net, *nani' ištu*.[2]

With regard to the abode of death and its darkness, there are two passages in the "Gilgames Epic" strangely similar to others in the Old Testament; one is that wherein the hero, dreading death, enquires: "What kind of place is the grave?" and receives for answer: "It is the place thou comest to when thou growest old, and the worm enters and thou hast put on corruption." Similarly see Job xvii, 16, and xxi, 26: "If I have said to corruption, thou

[1] An excellent engraving of which may be found in the *History of Sumer and Akkad*, by Dr. Leonard W. King.

[2] See Dr. T. G. Pinches, *Transactions Victoria Institute*, 1914, p. 182, and Père Scheil's edition of the inscription. *Cf.* Sophocles, *Electra*, lines 1485 f., "When mortals are in the meshes of fate, how can such respite avail one who is to die?"

art my father, and to the worm, thou art my mother and sister." This parallelism was first noticed by Mr. Boscawen.

The second passage is a part of Gilgames' episode, which has been termed the "Book of Darkness," and is interesting because of a verbal identity. The cuneiform sentence says: "O darkness (*zalmat*), mother of many waters: O darkness, her mighty power as a garment covers thee." This is the Hebraic "death's shadow" (*Zal-maweth*).

The difficulty of ever being delivered again from Sheol, the Underworld, the possible coming forth of the prisoners sitting therein in darkness is, from the Babylonian point of view, aptly illustrated by some remarks of Dr. Hugo Radau, in his work entitled *Letters to Cassite Kings*. He is writing respecting what he terms the Babylonian divine Trinity: the third person in which, he tells us, was the Son, the Saviour God, the deity of mercy (*ilu remenu*), the quickener of the dead (*muballit metuti*). More especially was He the deliverer of the dead from the Netherworld. A sentence concerning this aspect of the matter reads as follows: "Who has been brought down into the Netherworld, his body thou bringest back again" (*sha ana arallê shurudu pagarshu tuterra*).

Finally, the idea of noxious life-destroying vapours ascending out of the ground may have arisen, partly, from some natural phenomenon. Thus, Ammianus Marcellinus tells us of an earth-chasm in Assyria, near to Lake Sosingiton, from whence a *lalitus letalis* escaped, destroying any animal which came near. He also speaks of a cavern, or pit, giving forth fatal emanations, near to Hierapolis in Syria.

XVII. *Jewish Inscriptions from Rome.*

In Nos. I and II of the *Nuovo Bulletino di Archeologia Cristiana* for 1915, Signor Georgio Schneider Graziosi gives a catalogue of all the Jewish inscriptions now placed in the new hall at the Christian Museum of the Lateran, devoted solely to Hebrew records. The majority of the texts have come from the recently discovered Jewish Catacombs upon the Via Portuensis and on Monteverde. A large number have engraved beside them certain symbols, such as the seven-branched candlestick from the Temple—connected with the Jewish cult, and the inscriptions themselves are of much interest.

A few of these are given here, copied from the rendering of Signor Graziosi. The first is an epitaph of an Eutropius and a Fortunatus, and has as symbols, among others, the Candelabra as inserted in the text.

ЄΝΘΑ · ΔЄ ΚΕΙΝ · ΤЄ ΦΟΡΤΟΥ
ΝΑ · ΤΟC · ΚΛΙЄΥ · ΤΡΟ · ΠΙC · ΝΗΠΙΟ · Ι ΦΙ ·
ΛΟΥΝ · ΤЄC · ΑΛ · ΛΗ · ΛΟΥC · ΟC · Є · ΖΗ · CЄΝ
ΦΟΡ · ΤΟΥ · ΝΑ · ΤΟC · Є · ΤΗ · ΤΡЄΙC · ΚΑΙ · ΜΗ · Ν
ΑC · ΤЄC · CΑ · ΡЄC · ΚΑΙ · ЄΥΤΡΟ · ΠΙC · ΟC · Є
ΖΗ · CЄΝ · ЄΤΗ · ΤΡΙ · Α ΚΑΙΜΗΝΑC ЄΠ
ΤΑ · ЄΝ · ЄΙ ΡΗ · ΝΗ · Η · ΚΟΙ · ΜΗ · CΙC

ΑΥ · ΤΩΝ ЄΙC ΜΙΑΝ	Fig. of Candelabro eptalico de forme rettangolare.	Corno della unguone Spatulae palmarum.
Vase ΑΠЄΘΑΝ	Α. Ν.	ΗΜC ΡΑΝ

Inscription No. 15 is of a Julianus who was Gerusiarch, or Chief, of the Sanhedrin:

Ι · ΟΥΛΙΑΝΟC (*sic*)
ΓЄΡΟΥCΙΑΡΧΗC
ЄΝΘΑΔЄ ΚЄΙΤΑΙ
ΚΑΛΩC ΒΙΩCΑC
ΜЄΤΑ ΠΑΝΤΩΝ

Inscription No. 18 is of Symmacos, who was Gerusiarch of some Hebrew community in Tripoli. Probably he came from Syme, at the foot of one of the spurs of Lebanon:

ЄΝΘΑΔЄ ΚЄΙΤΑΙ
CΥΜΜΑΧΟC
ЄΙЄΡΟC ΑΡΧΗC
ΤΡΙΠΟΛΙΤΗC ·
ЄΤΩΝ · Π · ЄΝ · Є (*sic*)
ΡΗΝΗ · Η · ΚΟΙΜΗ
(*sic*) CΙ · ΑVΤΟV.

One of the Latin inscriptions may also be selected for publication. It concerns a lady whose husband eulogises her wifely qualities during a long wedded life.

The mention of the resurrection and the beatified life is novel as a Jewish inscription, but its Hebrew character is proved by the phrase *observantia legis*. Perhaps the lady's name had been Milcah:

HIC · REGINA · SITA · EST · TALI · CONTECTA · SEPVLCRO
QVOD CONIVNX · STATVIT · RESPONDENS · EIVS · AMORI
HAEC · POST · BIS · DENOS · SECVM · TRANS · SEGERAT · ANNVM. (*sic*)
ET · QVARTVM · MENSEM · RESTANTIBVS · OCTO · DIEBV S.
RVRSVM · VICTVRA · REDITVRA · AD · LVMINA · RVRSVM
NAM · SPERARE · POTEST · IDEO · QVOD · SVRGAT · IN AEVO M
PROMISSVM QVAE · VERA · FIDES · DIGNISQVE PIISQ E ·
QVAE · MERVIT · SEDEM · VENERANDI · RVRIS · HABER E ·
HOC · TIBI · PRAESTITERIT · PIETAS · HOC · VITA · PVDIC A ·
HOC · ET · AMOR · GENERIS · HOC · OBSERVANTIA · LEGI S ·
CONIVGII · MERITVM · CVIS · TIBI · GLORIA · CVRA E
HORVM · FACTORVM · TIBI · SVNT · SPERANDA · FVTVR A
DE QVIBVS · ET · CONIVNX · MAESTVS · SOLACIA QVAERIT.

In a later number of the *Bulletino*, a funerary text of a Jew named Delphinus is given. It has the Seven-branched Candlestick, and calls him Archon (? Rabbi) of the Synagogue.

XVIII. *A New Manuscript in Paris concerning Hebrew Astronomy.*

In an article entitled "Astrologica," published in the *Revue Archéologique*, 1916, pp. 1–22, M. Franz Cumont describes a Latin astrological manuscript, Parisinus 17368, which is a copy of a work by some author of the eighth or ninth century. M. Cumont shows from its contents that the writer was undoubtedly a Jew. The treatise is alleged to be by Alexander, who is called Alexandreus. It has been known and translated from later versions into French and English. The author quotes several times from the *Hebraei* or "Hebraeorum Mathematici," but his Latin version evidently depends upon a Syriac recension of the work, and this again seems to have been translated from the Arabic. In this manuscript we have the Hebrew names of the Zodiacal signs, and also those for the planets in Hebrew letters. Venus, the writer styles "Stella Solis Koka Shama" (*i.e.*, Kokab Shamash) in a later part of the work when dealing with pretended planetary influences. In the page devoted to horoscope calculations the text claims that the processes are "justa

Hebraicam supputationem," or says: "Hebraeorum mathematici unum asserunt esse caelestem Draconem."

Mrs. Walter Maunder has proved that both the Slavonic and Ethiopic apocalyptic "Books of Enoch" are astrological treatises[1] for horoscope purposes, and that these and another originally pseudo-Hebrew book, the "Book of Jubilees," were probably produced as late as the eighth century.[2] The Paris manuscript, when completely edited, may throw much light upon the astronomical knowledge of the authors of Slavonic Enoch and the "Book of Jubilees."

XIX. *Belshazzar and Gobryas the Median.*

Since the publication of the notes upon Belshazzar and Gobryas in the April *Quarterly Statement*, p. 96, two important tablets concerning these personages have been deciphered. One of these formed part of the temple archives at Erech, or Warka, and is now in the collection of Yale University.[3] Strange to say, as on the occasion of the mysterious writing at the feast at Babylon, this text contains the interpretation of an inscription, but in this case of dreams, and the augur renders the meaning as favourable, both to Belshazzar and to his father Nabonidus. The tablet reads as follows:—

"In the month Tebet, day 15th, year 7th of Nabonidus, king of Babylon, Shum-ukin says as follows: The great star Dilbat (Venus) Kaksidi, the moon, and the sun, I saw in my dream. It means favour for Nabonidus, king of Babylon, my lord, and favour for Belshazzar, the son of the king, my lord. May my ear attend to them. On the 17th of Tebet, year 7th of Nabonidus, king of Babylon, Shum-ukin says as follows: The great star I saw. It means favour for Nabonidus, king, my lord, and for Belshazzar the son of the king, my lord. May my ear attend."

[1] *Transactions of the Victoria Institute*, 1915, pp. 189, 232, "Astronomical Allusions in Sacred Books of the East."

[2] The name of a fallen angel, Semyaza, mentioned in Enoch VI, has been found upon one of the many bowls with Hebraeo-Aramaic incantation texts discovered at Nippur. These date probably from Sassanian, or later times. The script is said to be identical with that of some of the manuscripts from Khotan in Thibet. Semyaza appears to mean "he sees" (or knows) "the name of God."

[3] Prof. A. T. Clay, in *Art and Archaeology*, 1916, p. 180.

It will be noted that the date of this tablet is five years earlier than the contract-tablet of Nabonidus' 12th year, which indicated Belshazzar having a semi-royal position at the latter date. Venus as Dilbat "the Announcer," was the morning star, and the text conveys that the setting moon, Venus and the sun were, in a vision, all visible together.

Mention was also made on p. 96 of a tablet describing Gobryas, who, it is almost certain, was the "Darius the Mede" of Daniel, and who had been governor of Gutium in Media. New information concerning his official career has now been furnished by Père Scheil, which indicates Gobryas as holding high military command as early as the reign of Nebuchadnezzar. The whole of the contents of the officer's dispatch, which incidentally mentions Gobryas, is not here repeated, but only the important sentences referring to him. The document may have been indited during the short nine months' reign of the youth Laborossarchod (Labasi-Merodach), for the writer speaks of having been given his present post, under Nebuchadnezzar, and retaining it under Neriglissar, as if the latter had ceased to be king. The Neriglissar of this text (Nergal-sarra-usur) is probably the Nergal-sharezer of Jeremiah xxxix, 3 and 13.

"Tablet letter of Anu-sar-usur to his brother's . . . . . Daily Kalbu-Merodach, chief officer for rations, sends my soldiers here, because at this site I have shown him a spring of water. Of the troops that were here, how do they? Of their number you cannot (now) find more than twenty-five. The rest have perished or deserted, or turned back, along the road of Kalbi Merodach. Say thou upon this matter to Gubarru, I wish to send him a message: I tell him that as far as the reports of the civil governors (are concerned) I know nothing upon the matter. Know this that any individual among the soldiers who under the rule of Nebuchadnezzar and of Neriglissar has been assigned to my command . . . . . As to the fifties who were under your orders, those gone to the rear, or fugitives return them to the ranks. There is no reason why I should inform Gubarru."

In these days it is interesting to note the indication here, that in the Babylonian army a platoon contained fifty men.

(To be continued.)

MISCELLANEOUS ANCIENT WEIGHTS IN THE PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND MUSEUM.

(Weighed by W. Airy, Esq., on Jan. 20 and 21, 1916.)

Contractions used in the Table:—

Kedets.—The Egyptian kedet system; kedet = 140 grains.
E. shekels.—The Egyptian shekel system; shekel = 245 ,,
Ph. shekels.—The Phoenician shekel system; shekel = 220 ,,
A. shekels.—The Assyrian shekel system; shekel = 254 ,,
Drachmae.—The Greek Solonian system; drachma = 67·5 ,,

Museum No.	Weight in grains.		Remarks.
479	1484	6 E. shekels.	
474	1579	7 Ph. shekels.	
480	1666	12 kedets.	
463	1723	7 E. shekels.	
467	2311	9 A. shekels.	With mark on both sides.
485	2426	11 Ph. shekels.	
495	2441	10 E. shekels.	
494	2906	13 Ph. shekels.	
475	3067		Conical shape.
493	3086	14 Ph. shekels.	
483	3123		
456	3247	23 kedets.	
458	3387	24 kedets.	
455	3583	16 Ph. shekels.	
459	3609		
461	4207	30 kedets.	
464	4505	18 A. shekels.	
477	4566		
457	4655	21 Ph. shekels.	
453	4707		
497	4918	20 E. shekels.	Black, wedge-shaped.
492	5468		
496	5499	25 Ph. shekels.	
489	5524		Burnt clay, pyramidal, two holes.

Museum No.	Weight in grains.		Remarks.
487	5642	23 E. shekels.	Round, flat cake, two holes.
490	5669		
491	5736	26 Ph. shekels.	
454	5790		
486	5803		
482	6319	25 A. shekels.	Tall, black, tapering.
465	6440	46 kedets.	
471	7135	28 A. shekels.	
478	7232	33 Ph. shekels.	
498	7599	30 A. shekels.	½ Assyrian "maneh," wedge-shaped.
460	8371	60 kedets.	
452	8555	35 E. shekels.	
462	9905	45 Ph. shekels.	
481	11,202	50 Ph. shekels.	1 Phoenician "maneh."
466	15,365	60 A. shekels.	1 Assyrian "maneh."
451	52,500	7½ 50-kedet units.	7½ lbs., avoirdupois, spherical.

WEIGHTS IN GLASS-TOPPED CASE.

Museum No.	Weight in grains.		Remarks.
667	44	$\frac{3}{16}$ E. shekel.	
665	92	$\frac{3}{8}$ E. shekel.	
661	176	1¼ kedets.	Marked.
658	407	6 Greek Solonian drachmae.	
652	711	5 kedets.	
653	683		
651	1364	10 kedets.	
650	1402		
648	1402		Marked.
649	1410		Marked.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF PUBLICATIONS.

In the *Expository Times* for November, 1915, Dr. Buchanan Gray discusses the Hebrew names mentioned on the *ostraka* discovered by the Harvard University expedition in the course of their excavation of the site of the city of Samaria in 1908–10. Unfortunately, no complete account has yet been published of these *ostraka:* no facsimiles, no Hebrew text of the inscriptions, not even all the inscriptions have been made known. On the other hand, the evidence, such as it is, is most welcome, and Prof. Gray's investigation leads to interesting results. The remarks of the late Prof. Driver, in an article on the discoveries in the *Q.S.*, April, 1911, will already be familiar to our readers. The *ostraka* are ascribed to the ninth century B.C., perhaps to the reign of Ahab: the story that there was also found "an Assyrian cuneiform inscription mentioning the name of Ahab and the contemporary king of Assyria," proved to be unfounded. The potsherds were actually discovered at the same level as a vase inscribed with the name of Osorkon II of Egypt, whose reign (874–833) makes him a contemporary of Ahab. The script is said to be "practically identical with that of the Siloam Tunnel Inscriptions," and also to be the same as that of the Moabite stone; but in the absence of facsimiles, this statement can with difficulty be grasped, because, although the two scripts have very much in common—as contrasted with later alphabets—they are not by any means identical. Thus the epigraphical arguments are at present uncertain, and we must await the publication of facsimiles. In the meanwhile, Dr. Gray turns to the data supplied by the proper names. His conclusion is that the names favour a date between David and Jeremiah, *i.e.*, between the tenth and seventh centuries, and nearer the earlier than the later term. As an illustration of the general style of the inscriptions we may quote No. 12: "In the tenth year. From Yasat. A jar of fine oil. For Ahinoam." It should be observed that we have both place-names and names of persons, and that our vocalization of the Hebrew consonants is conjectural, and will usually be influenced by Biblical parallels or analogues. Some of the names

are familiar, *e.g.*, Abiezer, Shemida, Shechem, El*n*athan (apparently for El-*n*athan), Elisha and Sheba.

Taking all the names as a whole, Dr. Gray finds that they resemble the group of names of David's contemporaries in 2 Sam. ix.-xx, with certain differences which may be associated with the features we find in the groups of the contemporaries of Jeremiah and Ezra. An interesting circumstance is the number of compounds of Baal—four, if not six, in all. It has been suggested (by Prof. Lyon, of Harvard University) that this fact may be connected with "the great development of Baal-worship in Israel during the reign of Ahab, whose queen, daughter of Ethbaal, king of Tyre, was specially devoted to this cult." Dr. Gray observes, on the other hand, that Ahab does not give his children names compounded with Baal. Moreover, if the inscriptions, dated in the ninth to the eleventh years, really belong to the reign of Ahab, the bearers of the names, who can hardly have been mere children, must have been born some while before the great development of Baal-worship which took place in his reign. Finally, the Baal-names are not relatively much more numerous than they are in the documents pertaining to the Davidic Age. No doubt, as we know from other sources, Yahweh (Jehovah) was regarded as a Baal, just as he was regarded as an El. But, if so, why do the Baal-names disappear? It can hardly be due to a definite reaction against the Baal of Tyre, "for the popular identification of Yahweh with the local Baals still seems to have been current in the days of Hosea, *i.e.*, towards the end of the eighth century, and the names of the Baals were still in the people's mouths" (Hosea ii, 17). An important fact is the retention of Baal in some cases in Chronicles, the less familiar book, whereas, in the more popular book of Samuel, names in Baal have been altered or mutilated. Consequently, it is tempting to suppose that in some instances "Baal has been corrected out of the text without leaving trace of its existence anywhere in our existing material." But if so, surely we should expect to find a much larger proportion of Baal-names in such contemporary "finds" as the *ostraka* than actually occurs. Later, in both the post-Exilic portions of the Old Testament and in the fifth century Elephantine papyri, there are no compounds of Baal. The inference, therefore, is that the Baal-names in the *ostraka* are due to the same causes as those in the early literature; and, similarly, the disappearance in literature and epigraphy will have the same causes. The fact that the external

evidence thus independently agrees with the Biblical evidence suggests to Dr. Gray that, "in this respect, as in others, though the text of the Old Testament has suffered from scribal activity, it has not suffered to anything like the extent that some scholars have suggested." The result, therefore, is a solid gain: for, though we do not happen to get any striking or brilliant conclusions, what can be safely inferred is of very great importance for our general ideas of the state of the Hebrew text of the Old Testament.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

1. In the *Journal Asiatique*, tome III (1914), p. 501, M. Sidersky claims that the ordinary translation of Job xxvi, 7, does not do justice to the Hebrew. "He stretcheth out the north over empty space" is meaningless, seeing that the "North Pole" is a *mathematical point*, and, consequently, is incapable of extension over any given surface. It is true that Ps. civ, 2, uses the verb *natah* (נטה) to express "he stretches out the heavens like a curtain," but the same word also signifies "to incline like a bowing wall," Ps. lxii, 4; or to bend, or decline, "the shadow to decline ten steps," 2 Kings xx, 10. Consequently, we should understand the patriarch to say "he inclines the north": a perfectly correct astronomical observation. In other words, the author of the Book of Job was well aware of the inclination of the Ecliptic, which is the cause of the different seasons, and this knowledge is not surprising. Some modern critics put the date of Job in the fifth century B.C., when Babylonian astronomy had sufficiently advanced to recognize this cosmogonic fact; and many passages in the Hebrew poet demonstrate his interest in the heavenly bodies, and his full acquaintance with the astronomical knowledge of his time.

E. J. P.

2. In the *Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale* (tome XII), Prof. Henri Gauthier has published a Greek inscription which is worthy of note as a contribution to our knowledge of

Jewish life under the Ptolemies. It is traced upon a limestone slab, 17 in. long, 8 in. high, and 2½ in. thick, and is to the following effect:—

Ἐλεάζαρος Νικολάου ἡγεμὼν ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ καὶ Εἰρήνης τῆς γυναικὸς τὸ ὡρολόγιον καὶ τὸ φρέαρ.

"Eleazar, son of Nicolaus, the chief, for himself, and for Irene his wife (has made) this sun-dial, and this tank."

The inscription in question has been in the possession of the French Institute at Cairo for many years: but there seems to be no record as to how it was acquired, or where it came from. M. Gauthier does not give a photograph, but we may judge that the tablet dates from about 200 B.C. The names Eleazar and Nicolaus were fairly common among the Jews of that period, and we are not justified in identifying this individual with any known historical personage; nor is there anything to show whether the title *hegemon* was military or religious. At any rate, this Eleazar was a public-spirited person, for he sought to commemorate himself and his wife, not by a statue, or tomb, but by placing at the service of his fellow-citizens two such useful articles as a clock and a drinking fountain.

E. J. P.

THE

PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND.

NOTES AND NEWS.

Further accounts of the internal conditions in Palestine at the present time have appeared from time to time in the press. The light they throw upon the sufferings and misery of the unfortunate victims is startling. "It is no exaggeration to say that two-thirds of the inhabitants of the villages in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem, Ramallah, et-Taibeh, el-Bireh, Beit Safafa, Selwan, Beit Hanineh and Bir Zeit have died of hunger and typhoid fever. The Lebanon it is impossible to describe adequately, for the horrors of destitution and suffering to which the Turks have subjected the people of that district, leave one stupified and dumb. . . . Jemal Pasha banished to Anatolia thousands of well-known Syrians with their families, including bishops and other religious leaders, learned men and sheikhs, in order that the people might be left without support or assistance." We refrain from quoting the most distressing statements; the above speak for themselves, need no comment of ours, and will not be forgotten in the day of reckoning.

We hope to publish in the next volume of the *Q.S.* two articles by our late Chairman, Colonel Watson. The one consists of a number of interesting notes on the churches of Jerusalem founded before A.D. 1099, and the other is a careful essay on Bonaparte's Expedition to Palestine in 1799. The Committee are also indebted to Lady Watson for a large number of books, pamphlets, maps, plans, pictures, MSS., photographic films, map-cabinet, scales, and many other objects; all these, the property of the late Sir Charles Watson, have been received, arranged and catalogued, and will be a valued memorial of his work and interest in the Fund. The

sincere thanks of the Committee are tendered to Lady Watson for her generous gift, and a fuller account of the contents will be found below, pp. 162, 163.

We print in this issue the first part of an account by Miss Estelle Blyth, our temporary Assistant Secretary, of the late Lord Kitchener's work in Palestine. Also of topical interest is the fact that the sketches by Mr. Philip J. Baldensperger, entitled "The Immovable East," deal with well known Palestinian towns, beginning with Jerusalem. The MS. in our possession was written some years ago, and in Mr. Baldensperger's vivacious style; and although he is not describing the Jerusalem of to-day or of the day before the war, his observations are an interesting contribution to a better knowledge of a land whose fate is bound to attract even more attention as time goes on. For this reason, too, we commend the series of articles by Dr. Masterman and Prof. R. A. S. Macalister as calculated to throw much needed light upon the psychology of the land. What has been observed by the foremost geographer of the Holy Land is borne out by a study of its history: "Palestine is essentially a land of small divisions, and its configuration does not fit it to form a separate entity; it 'has never belonged to one nation and probably never will (George Adam Smith)'" (*Ency. Brit.*, art. "Palestine," Vol. XX, p. 605). A deeper knowledge of the natural and psychical conditions of Palestine is highly requisite for a better understanding of the problems of the future.

An interesting feature of *The Near East* is its new practice of publishing a list of English residents in Palestine, etc., who have left Turkey in consequence of the war, and may have lost sight of one another.

Owing to pressure of space, several important items must be held over, among them a review of an important book published by the American Sunday School Union, Philadelphia, U.S.A. It is a handbook on the "Archaeology of the Bible," carefully prepared, profusely illustrated, and by the competent hands of Prof. George A. Barton, sometime Director of the American School of Oriental Research in Jerusalem.

Fifty Years' Work in the Holy Land: A Record and a Summary, 1865–1915.—Under this title the late Colonel Sir C. M. Watson, K.C.M.G., etc., gave an entirely new revision of that *résumé* of the work of the Fund which has been issued from time to time in order to furnish readers, and—especially—new subscribers with a synoptical account of the more important aims and achievements. Such accounts have been published in 1870, 1872, 1886, and 1895, so that twenty years have passed since the last revision—years during which most valuable excavations have been undertaken, notably at Gezer. Last year being the Jubilee of the Palestine Exploration Fund, a new edition was especially appropriate, and old subscribers as well as new will find that the book by the late Chairman of the Executive Committee gives an admirable bird's-eye view of the work of the Fund. Although space allows the book to provide only the bare outlines of what has been done, the material is so arranged as to include all information necessary to explain the different expeditions and excavations. A map is also appended containing all the important names and sites. Chapters are written on the reason why the P.E.F. was established; the foundation of the Society in 1865; the preliminary reconnaissance of Palestine, 1865-6; the explorations at Jerusalem, 1867-70; the expedition to the Desert of the Exodus, 1869-70; the survey of Western Palestine in 1871-7; the survey of Eastern Palestine in 1881-2; the geological expedition and survey of the Arabah in 1883-4; the excavations at Lachish, Jerusalem, etc. (five chapters), the survey of Southern Palestine in 1913–14; the Palestine Pilgrims' Texts, and a concluding chapter on the administration of the Society. There are two appendices: the chronology of the P.E.F., and the chronology of the publications. The book is published by the Committee of the Fund, and can be had on application to the Assistant Secretary, post free 3*s.* 6*d.*

Fifty Years' Work in the Holy Land. Colonel Watson's book (see the last paragraph) is having a steady sale; it should be read by all who would make themselves acquainted with the progress of Palestinian research.

In drawing attention to the books needed for the Library of the Fund, we may mention especially Lagarde's *Onomastica Sacra* (2nd ed., 1887), and the *Antonine Itinerary*. An edition of the

latter by Parthey and Pindar was published at Berlin in 1847, see below, p. 164.

The New Survey: Double Annual for 1914–15.—The material resulting from the Survey of the Southern Country ("The Desert of the Wanderings") in the early part of 1914 proved to be more voluminous and more complete than could have been anticipated, seeing how short a time was available, owing to climate and other considerations. The whole Survey party must have worked with an energy and industry exceeding that of any previous expedition, notwithstanding the unusual difficulties which beset them from the nature of the country. The notes and descriptions of the various localities included are full and careful, and Messrs. Woolley and Lawrence are to be congratulated on having made them vivid and interesting, and on having secured so many and characteristic photographic illustrations as well as plans. The few inscriptions collected have been examined and carefully analysed by Mr. Marcus Tod, of Oxford. They are all personal memorials but afford some exact dates.

Altogether the amount of material largely exceeds what should suffice for a double volume of the *Annual*—*i.e.*, for two years. But, on careful consideration, the Committee thought that the reasons for publishing the whole together and without undue delay were so strong that they felt compelled to disregard the strictly economical question, so far as subscribers are concerned, and to publish the whole as a double *Annual* for the years 1914–15.

The reasons for this course were:—

1. That the region is one which so greatly interests all Bible students.
2. That it has never previously been surveyed or systematically examined.
3. That it may never again be so thoroughly examined and reported on.
4. That the disturbed condition of all Europe makes it improbable that any work of excavation can be undertaken for the present.

The price of the book to the public outside the Society is 45*s*.

An account of the *Annual* will be found in the April issue of the *Q.S.*, 1915, pp. 61–63.

The Committee are bringing out a new edition of the ($\frac{3}{8}$ in. to the mile) Map of Western Palestine, of which the original edition has been for some time out of print. It is in six sheets, and will be, primarily, a travellers' map. The roads and railways constructed since the original survey have been added. For the sake of clearness, only the modern names are given. The hill shading is in a lighter tint for the same reason. All the country beyond that actually surveyed is shown in outline only. In a few years it may be possible to add much of this in a further edition. In the meantime, this is the clearest map and the easiest to consult of any yet issued by the Society. The price of the complete six sheets will be 7*s.* 6*d.* If desired, the map can be mounted on linen and a roller, or to fold. It will be ready for issue when the war permits.

The Library of the Palestine Exploration Fund contains many duplicate volumes, including standard works by Robinson, Ritter, Stanley and others. They may be had separately, and a list, with the price of each volume, has been prepared, and can be obtained on application.

The Index to the *Quarterly Statements* previously published included the years from 1869 to 1892, and the need for its continuation to a more recent date has been greatly felt. Some of the most important of the discoveries and work of the Palestine Exploration Fund belong to later years. Such are the excavations of sites on and around Ophel, by Messrs. Bliss and Dickie, in the Shephelah, by Messrs. Bliss and Macalister, and the great work at Gezer, by Prof. Stewart Macalister, besides many valuable papers and discussions on the sites in Jerusalem and elsewhere. During the year 1911, the Committee decided to supplement the old Index by one which should include the completion of the work at Gezer, that is to say, from 1893 to 1910. The laborious task was undertaken by Mr. (now Prof.) Dickie, whose familiarity with the matter dealt with, and conscientious exactitude, have now enabled the Committee to publish it with confidence. Price in cloth, 5*s.*; unbound, 3*s.* 6*d.*

The Committee will be glad to communicate with ladies and gentlemen willing to help the Fund as Honorary Secretaries.

Plaster casts of the raised contour maps (large and small) of Jerusalem have been prepared and can now be had on application. The horizontal scale of the large map is $\frac{1}{2500}$ and the total dimensions are 5 feet by 4 feet 3 inches. The remains of the city walls and streets discovered on the Eastern and Western Hills are indicated in red lines. This map will be a most valuable help to the study of Jerusalem topography. Price £3 3*s*. Case and packing extra. The scale of the smaller map is $\frac{1}{10000}$ and the size 20 inches square. Price without addition of early walls and streets £1 5*s*.

A new and improved edition of the large photo relief map of Palestine (5 miles = 1 inch) is now ready. Price 6*s*. 9*d*. unmounted. Mounted on cloth, roller, and varnished, 10*s*. 6*d*. Size, mounted, 30 inches by 52 inches.

It may be well to mention that plans and photographs alluded to in the reports from Jerusalem and elsewhere cannot all be published, but they are preserved in the office of the Fund, where they may be seen by subscribers.

Subscribers who have not yet paid will greatly facilitate the Committee's efforts by sending in their subscriptions without further delay, and thus save the expense of sending out reminders.

Subscribers to the Fund are reminded that, whilst the receipt of every subscription and contribution is promptly acknowledged by the Assistant Secretary, they are now published annually. A complete List of Subscribers and Subscriptions for 1915 was given in the Annual Report published with the April number.

Golgotha and the Holy Sepulchre, the last work of the late Major-General Sir Charles Wilson, K.C.B., K.C.M.G., F.R.S., D.C.L., LL.D., etc. In this work our former Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Palestine Exploration Fund has brought together for the first time all the evidence which the most exhaustive research enabled him to collect bearing on the subject of these Holy Sites; and probably no man living had at once so intimate a knowledge of all investigations in the modern Jerusalem and so complete an acquaintance with what has been written about the Sites from the time of Constantine onwards. The price of the work (demy 8vo) is 6*s*., by post 6*s*. 4*d*.

A reprint of *Names and Places in the Old and New Testaments*, by the late Mr. George Armstrong, is now on sale, price 6*s*. The book was out of print for some years.

A complete set of the *Quarterly Statements*, 1869–1910, containing some of the early letters (now scarce), with an Index, 1869–1910, bound in the Palestine Exploration Fund cases, can be had. Price on application to the Secretary, 2, Hinde Street, Manchester Square, W.

The price of a complete set of the translations published by the Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society, in 13 volumes, with general index, bound in cloth, is £10 10*s*. A catalogue describing the contents of each volume can be had on application to the Secretary, 2, Hinde Street, Manchester Square, W.

Photographs of the late Dr. Schick's models (1) of the Temple of Solomon, (2) of the Herodian Temple, (3) of the Haram Area and Justinian's Church, and (4) of the Haram Area as it is at present, have been received at the office of the Fund. The four photographs, with an explanation by Dr. Schick, can be purchased by applying to the Secretary, 2, Hinde Street, Manchester Square, W.

The Museum at the office of the Fund, 2, Hinde Street, Manchester Square, W., is open to visitors every week-day from 10 o'clock till 5, except Saturdays, when it is closed at 1 p.m.

Subscribers in U.S.A. to the work of the Fund will please note that they can procure copies of any of the publications from the Rev. Prof. Lewis B. Paton, Ph.D., Honorary General Secretary to the Fund, 50, Forest Street, Hartford, Conn.

The Committee have to acknowledge with thanks, among other journals and books, the following :—

Archaeology and the Bible: Part I, The Bible Lands, their Exploration and the Resultant Light on the Bible and History; Part 2, Translations of Ancient Documents which Confirm or Illuminate the Bible. Pages xiv and 461, 303 illustrations. By Prof. G. A. Barton. (American Sunday School Union, 1816, Chestnut Street, Philadelphia, Pa., 2·25 dollars post free.)

The Society of Biblical Archaeology: Vol. XXXVIII, Part 5, The late Sir Gaston C. C. Maspero, K.C.M.G., by F. Legge; The Chronology of the Neo-Babylonian Empire, by Rev. Dr. Johns; Arabian Personal Names borne by Israelites of the Mosaic Period, by Rev. W. T. Pilter.

The Scottish Geographical Magazine, August, 1916: Arabia and the Arabs, by V. Dingelstedt. Syria: the Present and the Future. The Civilization of Babylonia and Assyria (Jastrow); reviewed by A. C. Baird.

Studies: An Irish Quarterly Review of Letters, Philosophy, and Science, June, September, 1916.

The Irish Theological Quarterly, July, 1916.

The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute, Vol. XLVI, 1916. Racial Elements concerned in the First Siege of Troy, by H. Peake.

Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology, Vol. VII, Nos. 3 and 4, A North-Syrian Cemetery of the Persian Period, by C. L. Woolley; etc.

The Expository Times.

The Near East: A weekly review of Oriental Politics, Literature, Finance and Commerce. Regular letters from special correspondents in Palestine and Syria; etc.

The Biblical World, June-August, 1916: America, Arabic and Islam, by M. Sprengling; the Value of Biblical Archaeology, by G. H. Richardson.

The Homiletic Review.

Art and Archaeology, Vol. III, Part 5; Vol. IV, Part 1.

The American Journal of Archaeology, Vol. XX, 2: Babylonian Origin of Hermes the Snake-God, and of the Caduceus, by A. L. Frothingham; Archaeological discussions: Egypt, Babylonia, Assyria and Persia, Syria and Palestine, Asia Minor, etc.

The American Journal of Philology, Vol. XXXVII, 2.

The Jewish Quarterly Review, July, 1916.

See further below, p. 201.

The Committee will be glad to receive donations of Books to the Library of the Fund, which already contains many works of great value relating to Palestine and other Bible lands.

The Committee desire to acknowledge with thanks the following contributions to the Library:—

From Lady Watson:—

Portrait of Sir Charles Watson, framed.

Three Scales, made by Sir Charles Watson, for measurement of distances.

Romano-Egyptian Amphora, 100 B.C., in stand.

Eight Antique Mahogany Chairs.

Map Cabinet.

Nine large and eight small Letter Drawers.

124 Lantern slides, including 53 of Jerusalem, with slide-boxes.

85 envelopes of Photographic Films, docketed, in box.

78 Maps and Plans, including :—

Map of the Desert between Egypt and Palestine.
Map of the Peninsula of Sinai.
Ordnance Survey of Mount Sinai.
Ordnance Survey of Mount Serbal.
Map of the White Nile.
Map of the Nile from Khartoum to Gondokoro, by Lieutenants Watson and Chippendall.
Plan of the Citadel at Cairo, made by French Engineers in 1799.
Plan of the Temple of Jerusalem.
Plans of the Excavations at Jerusalem.
Plans of the Rock Contours of Jerusalem.
Plan of Acre.

89 Books, including :—

The Quarterly Statement, 1869–1915.
The Works of the Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society.
The "Jerusalem" volume of the Survey of Western Palestine, and Portfolio of Plates.
Journals of Major-General C. G. Gordon at Khartoum.

51 Pamphlets, including :—

St. Étienne et son Sanctuaire à Jérusalem (Lagrange).
Topographie de l'ancienne Jérusalem (Berto).
Les Tombeaux de David (Clermont-Ganneau).
Chroniques et Propheties épitre de Sidi Lokman el-Hakim.
La Confrérie Musulmane de Sidi Mohammed Ben 'Ali es-Senousi (Duveyrier).
Relations between the Sultan and the Mahdi.
Tribes of the Eastern Sudan (Cameron).
Tribes of the Nile Valley, North of Khartoum (Sir C. Wilson).
Mosque of Sultan Nasir Mohammed ibn Kalaoun in the Citadel of Cairo (Sir C. M. Wilson).
'Omarah's History of Yemen (Kay).
Bézétha. By Lagrange and Vincent.

MSS. :—

Bonaparte's Expedition to Palestine in 1799.
The Churches of Jerusalem founded before A.D. 1099 (Incomplete).
Extracts from Josephus.

From Mrs. Ross Scott :—

Picturesque Views of Public Edifices in Ancient and Modern Rome.
Ordnance Survey of the Sinai Peninsula.
The Nile Quest. By Sir H. Johnstone.
Egypt and the Egyptians. By Rev. J. O. Bevan.
A Levantine Log Book. By J. Hart.

Myths and Legends of Ancient Egypt. By Lewis Spencer.
Memoir of the Ruins of Babylon. By C. J. Rich.
The Penetration of Arabia. By D. G. Hogarth.

From A. S. Michie, Esq. :—
The Christian in Palestine, or Scenes of Sacred History, Historical and Descriptive. By Henry Stebbing, D.D., F.R.S. ; 79 plates, steel engravings. Illustrated from Sketches taken on the spot by W. H. Bartlett. (London : George Virtue.)

From the Rev. C. V. Goddard :—
Quarterly Statement, from 1895 to 1915, fourteen years being complete.

The Committee will be grateful to any subscribers who may be disposed to present to the Library any of the following books :—

Duc de Luynes, *Voyage à la Mer Morte* (1864) ; published about 1874.
K. von Raumer, *Der Zug der Israeliten.* (Leipzig, 1837.)
L. de Laborde, *Voyage de l'Arabie Pétrée* (1829).
Lagarde, *Onomastica Sacra* (1887).
The Antonine Itinerary—an edition by Parthey and Pindar was published in 1847 at Berlin. An edition in Russian is also extant, but is therefore not available save to the few who know that language.

For list of authorized lecturers and their subjects, see end of the Journal, or write to the Secretary.

Whilst desiring to give publicity to proposed identifications and other theories advanced by officers of the Fund and contributors to the pages of the *Quarterly Statement*, the Committee wish it to be distinctly understood that by publishing them in the *Quarterly Statement* they do not necessarily sanction or adopt them.

Form of Bequest to the Palestine Exploration Fund.

I give to the Palestine Exploration Fund, London, the sum of _____ to be applied towards the General Work of the Fund ; and I direct that the said sum be paid, free of Legacy Duty, and that the Receipt of the Treasurer of the Palestine Exploration Fund shall be a sufficient discharge for the same.

Note.—*Three Witnesses are necessary to a Will by the Law of the United States of America, and Two by the Law of the United Kingdom.*

THE IMMOVABLE EAST.

By Philip J. Baldensperger.

(*Continued from Q.S.*, 1916, *p.* 77.)

The General Characteristics of the Different Towns.

I.—Jerusalem.[1]

El Kuds esh-Sharīf (القدس الشريف) is the town in which the three great religions of Western Asia, Africa and Europe have an acknowledged sanctuary, in consequence of which it has a unique physiognomy among the towns of the whole world. Christians, Mohammedans and Jews are, more or less, separated in different quarters. The old divisions were, for nearly one-third of the town between the Armenian (Christian) quarter on Zion and the other Christians on Acra, one-sixth for the Jews on Zion, and nearly two-thirds for the Mohammedans on Moriah and Acra. Since the walls of Jerusalem are only marks of the ancient Saracenic town, colonies of inhabitants have sprung up towards the north-west; though the Jews tried to continue separated from them, they have only succeeded in doing so in the ancient Montefiore quarter, or immediately north of the Damascus Gate.

The eastern end of the town is protected, first by the Temple area, and secondly by the steep declivity of the Valley of Jehoshaphat, where the Mohammedans have their cemetery. Life and commerce are carried on in the western part, inhabited by the Christians, and now outside the gates along the Jaffa road; whilst the eastern side is quiet and there is even deadly silence along the Temple walls, where towards evening hundreds of ravens alone disturb the stillness by their croaking. Thousands of turtle-doves and wood-pigeons nestle on and around the Mosque of Omar.

[1] [It will of course be borne in mind that these sketches, including this account of Jerusalem, were written by Mr. Baldensperger some years ago. Ed.]

The Jaffa and Hamdiyeh Gates may be called the commercial or Christian gates; the Zion Gate, the Jewish gate; and the Damascus, St. Mary's or St. Stephen's, and the Dung or Maghraby Gates, the Mohammedan.

These groupings of divers religions in different parts of the town are a relic of the past, when it was necessary for those of the same belief to live together and defend themselves against those of other creeds. Besides, they could more easily perform their civil and religious duties and other ceremonies without being disturbed by the others. Processions are ridiculed, though Orientals respect religious ceremonies to a certain degree, and excuse forms of worship other than their own, yet when the fanaticism of the great feasts is aroused, it is not always safe to assist either as indifferent bystander or ironic onlooker. Spring is the most dangerous moment for religious explosions. Easter brings thousands of pilgrims of the Greek church, the aim of their journey being to see the Holy Fire arriving in the Sepulchre on Good Saturday. The wild North Syrians from Aleppo and the whole Waliyeh, mingle with the Greeks and Cyprians and sing in savage enthusiasm—often brandishing their knives—a welcome song to the Holy Fire.

(فاض النور وعيّدنا وهذا قبر سيدنا)

We feast the light that has come out.

Fāḍ en-nūr u'eiadnā, u-hatha ḳaber seiedna

This is the Sepulchre of our Lord.

(سيدنا عيسى المسيح)

Seiedna 'Īsa l-Masīḥ

Our Lord is Jesus the Messiah.

(والمسيح فدانا بدمه اشترانا)

The Messiah who redeemed us

Wa'l Masīḥ fadānā, bidamo ishtārāna

And bought us with his blood.

(واحنا اليوم فراحا واليهود حزانا)

Whilst we are in joy, the Jews are sorry.

Waḥnā ilyōm farāḥah, wal-yahūd ḥazānah.

The only one religion is the Messiah's.

(ما دين الا دين المسيح)

Ma dīn illā dīn il-Masīh.

To this the Mohammedans answer:

(يا نصارى يا يهود عيدكم عيد الكرود)

O Nazarenes (Christians), O Jews!
Your feast is the goblins' feast,
Our feast is the prophet's feast.

Yā Nazzārah yā Yehūd,
ʿīdkum ʿīd il-Kurūd.

(عيدنا عيد النبي)

ʿīdnā ʿīd in-Naby.

When, unhappily, the Passion-Week of Roman and Greek Christians happens to occur at the same date, then the different feelings are awakened, and the rivals obstinately insist on their rights of passing in processions at fixed hours about the sepulchre, and the meetings are contrary to every charitable feeling; battles, with tragic results, have often been registered. About the same time Mohammedan pilgrims, from fanatical centres north and south, come to Jerusalem for the Moses feasts, *Musum* (موسم). The feasts of Moses begin in Jerusalem. The blessed standard of Moses, *bīrak en-Naby Musah* (بيرق النبي موسى), deposited in the Haram, is brought forth with great ceremony, accompanied by the garrison of Jerusalem, and saluted by a number of cannon-shots outside the St. Stephen's Gate. The enthusiastic pilgrims, in full dress, with all their processions and flags and instrumentalists, follow or precede the standard. Every village has a wely or saint with a flag or two, and with instruments carried by candidates or the associates of the corporation. The flag of every saint called *rāyet*, (راية), is carried on a long pole in front of the procession, and the different musicians follow. The instruments used are the drum, the cymbals and a small tabret. Behind them follow the dervishes, dancing, whirling, howling, and striking themselves with swords, pins, and so forth. Then follow the non-initiated villagers in threes or fours irregularly, and last come the women and children in gaudy colours.

The departure and first day's journey is very lively and full of vigour. Sacrifices are brought about the tomb of Moses, and, for four or five days, the people are full of joy, playing and singing with all their might, as David and all Israel when, in such processions, they brought the ark to Jerusalem (1 Chron. xiv, 8). After a few days, when victuals become scarce and water is wanting, the heat becomes insupportable in those dreary regions near the

Dead Sea, and the home journey is undertaken with a good deal less enthusiasm. The sulphurous and other winds blowing from the Dead Sea considerably damp their ardour, and when, after a whole day's journey, the weary pilgrims arrive again near Jerusalem, all warlike ideas have dwindled into one only thought—to get home as soon as possible and let others fight for the faith. There is a hasty visit to the Mosque of Omar, and gradually the crowds disperse again, leaving the eastern quarters of the city as lonely as is possible for a town of so many inhabitants as Jerusalem. By degrees the Christians, who also have visited the different churches and, perhaps, have had a bath or baptism in the Jordan, and have spent most of their money, return to their homes.

The Christian quarter, the most busy part of the town, is crowded almost all the year round with indigenous Christians and European residents, mingled with Mohammedans, Turkish officers and soldiers. But the latter, having their principal barracks in the Mohammedan quarter, are more frequently seen in that direction, and the Damascus Gate, being the official gate for the reception of governors, has had a carriage road built through it, and, with the establishment of the Jewish colonies in its proximity, is now becoming more frequented. The gate, a specimen of Saracenic architecture, and situated in a Moslem neighbourhood, gives us all the appearance of old Mohammedan Jerusalem. The potters, who live between hedges, have their establishment inside the gate—in the space between this gate and St. Stephen's Gate. The Damascus Gate, or Columns' Gate, is the gate where all caravans stop, arriving from the north—Nablus, Nazareth and Damascus; but owing to the trade carried on at the Jaffa Gate, the caravans turn to the right and enter by the new Hamdiyeh Gate or the Jaffa Gate.

The soldiers usually march out by the Damascus Gate. Houses of ill-fame are very rare, if we compare Alexandria and Cairo.

St. Stephen's or St. Mary's Gate is the only eastern gate looking towards the Mount of Olives, and it can be called the "Death or Funeral Gate." The peace of these regions is rarely disturbed but by a funeral procession, with the chanting sheikhs and shrieking women with dishevelled hair as they follow the body of some loved person carried to the resting place. As we step out of St. Stephen's the road is lined with gravestones from corner to corner of the whole eastern wall. Looking down into the Valley of Jehoshaphat, we may see the so-called tombs of the Virgin, Absalom, Jehoshaphat,

St. James, and Zechariah, besides thousands of Jewish tombstones strewn all over the slopes of the Mount of Olives, without order and as if haphazard. It is indeed an immense and disorderly necropolis, where paths lead in every direction, and are mostly used by the inhabitants of the villages of Tur, Bethany, and Abu Dis, east of Jerusalem, who come into the town by St. Stephen's. Bedouin from Jericho, Jordan and Moab also find their way across the necropolis and camp among the graves outside the gate till some spy brings them news that they can safely enter the town without being "pressed" into some service, as soldiers or officers changing garrison and so forth. Being assured that there are removals in view, they push on their tiny donkeys or meagre camels towards the wheat market, where they sell their grain or butter in the greatest hurry, to get out of the gate before sunset, for, as the Rechabites of old, they dread towns and houses built of stone. Except for these occasional disturbances above mentioned, the walk outside the town from the Damascus Gate, by St. Stephen's, and round Moriah by Ophel to the Dung Gate, can be made without meeting anybody, unless perhaps another visitor, who also has come to enjoy the solitude.

The Dung Gate, known also as the Maghraby Gate—from the North-West Africans who live inside—is utilized mostly by the Siloam watermen, who provide the town with the brackish waters of Siloam, which is so much appreciated in times of drought (especially in the summer of 1901). The gate is well named, for the Jews living in the quarter between this and the Zion Gate throw their manure and other refuse in and outside the walls, spreading a horrible smell in the region. The peasants of Siloam have their cauliflower gardens here, and manure the land with the refuse of the Jewish brandy-shops, and other filth.

The Jewish quarter is the filthiest part of the town, and though some order has recently been introduced, it is not rare to stumble over a heap of mud or manure thrown into the middle of the street, if the Siloam peasants happen to be busy elsewhere. The thoroughfare is occupied by Jewish merchants, and the streets are full of Jewish men and women, mostly of the Ashkenazi sect. The Sephardi Jews are, unlike the Polish, exceedingly clean, and their women are kept in the houses and have much more Oriental customs. Owing to the exclusive manner of living of the Jews their *kosher* butchers hardly live up to their name; they have their own herds of

meagre cows, often living within the city walls, and kept in a most pitiful state. The herds pass in and out of the Zion Gate to the poor pasture grounds on Zion and the Valley of Hinnom or the Plain of Rephaim.

Fig brandy is prepared by the Jews almost all the year round, and as the Ashkenazi make it a rule to be as merry as possible during life, brandy is greatly relished. The weekly fair is held on Friday near the Zion Gate, and it largely contributes to the bad odours of the whole quarter. In years gone by the lepers dwelt beside the gate in the square reserved for the fair, but they have now been obliged to remove to the Lepers' home near the Bir Eyub, in the Wady er-Rababé. The Dung Gate and the Zion Gate are the gates used by the Jews for the burial of their dead, as their cemetery is on the Mount of Olives.

The Zion Gate, also called the Prophet David's Gate, leads to the so-called tomb of David, and the cemetery used by Christians of every sect on the top of Mount Zion. Immediately inside the gate is a dreary but very clean street leading all along the Armenian buildings. The fine fir-trees before the Armenian convent add to the good odour and give a good impression to this quarter. The quietness of this quarter is disturbed during the spring when hundreds of Armenian pilgrims flock here to visit the Holy City. Before the convenience of a regular service of coasting vessels from Laodicea and Alexandretta to Jaffa, these pilgrims used to journey by land from Diarbekr to Jerusalem in about twenty days on huge mules with enormous pack saddles. The muleteers were all Armenians and lodged in the convent with the pilgrims. The animals were tethered in the streets, which are very wide in this place. Now, the pilgrims arrive by rail from Jaffa, and the streets are much less encumbered.

The burial of the Christians is sometimes by way of the Zion Gate, but as they live towards the Jaffa Gate and have to pass into their respective churches, the dead are mostly carried out by the Jaffa Gate, leaving the Zion Gate for the Armenians only, as their church is nearer this gate.

The Moslems have another big cemetery around the upper Pool of Gihon called Mamilla. The inhabitants of Neby Dahud, on Zion, are mostly horse owners, or have been so, and as they had to hire their horses, their way was always outside the walls towards the Jaffa Gate.

The Jaffa Gate, also called the "Friend's Gate," *i.e.*, of Abraham the Friend of God,—the gate leads equally towards Hebron—is the centre of all traffic in and about Jerusalem. All the mountains of Judah, the plains of Philistia and Sharon, and a great part of the northern villages have their natural place of arrival here. On feast-days or holidays everybody comes here and along the Jaffa road or on the Mamilla grounds for a walk. The most elegant shops are here, carriages run up and down along the road for those who do not like to go on foot; soon the tram will also be introduced and wholly transform what is left of Jebus into a modern "comfortable" town.

In the interior, the Christians are also more or less divided into Roman Catholic, Greek (the Armenians we have seen), and the minor churches, as Copts, Abyssinians, etc., etc., who live around their convents. The convents resemble khans in the pilgrim season, when thousands are there lodged gratuitously. The convents, under their respective patriarchs, provide for their poor, either by helping them in paying the house-rent or furnishing their houses, as the convents possess a good deal, or paying contributions and military duties.

Mamilla, which is both a burial-ground and a place for picnics, is also the drilling ground for the garrison when they march out by the Jaffa Gate.

Around the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, and at its gates, are sold wax candles and mother-of-pearl rosaries and olive-wood articles; these were formerly made only by Bethlehemites, but now by almost everybody. Jordan sticks, Dead Sea stones, and Jericho roses are also to be had. Jews are never allowed to pass before the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, or the Temple area, the Christian or Moslem mob is each one as fanatic as the other to defend the access.

The character of the Jerusalemite, who is a firm believer in whatever church or religion he may belong to, is, as a rule, not very haughty, but rather amiable and polite, and not very quarrelsome. Living mostly by foreigners, he has probably acquired these qualities; as for honesty, diligence, and so forth, the balance may tip in his favour as compared with other towns. Crimes are relatively rare, and if violence is committed it is imported.

Jerusalem Arabic can be called the nearest to literal Arabic, though the pronunciation is what might be called lazy. The *k* (ق), is not pronounced, but sounds as an *alif* (ا); thus *el-Kuds* is

pronounced *el-Uddūs*, with a vowel between the *d* and the *s*—a common practice in monosyllabic words. The *sh* (ش) is pronounced as *s* (س), thus the monosyllable *Shams* (شمس) is pronounced *Sammes* (سمس). The *th* is pronounced *t* in *thāni*, "the second," pronounced *tāni*.

After the different feasts in spring, which extraordinarily animate Jerusalem, the calmness following is very great. Yet the necessary articles for food, fire, and the progress of the churches, which build in summer, give a certain movement, and as many of the masons and architects are from environing villages, the home-roads are filled with the workmen on Saturday evening, to be crowded again on Monday morning to begin work.

Friday, the day of prayer of the Mohammedans, is not observed in public, as the Moslems go to work before and after the divine service, from 11 a.m. to 12.30 p.m. On Saturdays the carriages, which are very much in the hands of the Jews, cease their service.

The money-changers disappear—and many minor workers—as porters, shoeblacks, and the like, are in full dress. A large number of shops are closed, so that the Sabbath affects life almost as much as the Sunday, when all Christians go to their churches, and Sunday afternoons are given over to walks outside the city.

"In Jerusalem is a tumult between Ehman and Messiah.
This one rings the bells, and that one calls on the minaret."

في القدس قانت ضبحة ما بين احمد والمسيح
هاذا نقوس يدقن وذاك على المديذنة يصيح

(*To be continued.*)

OCCASIONAL PAPERS ON THE MODERN INHABITANTS OF PALESTINE.

By Dr. E. W. G. Masterman and Prof. R. A. S. Macalister.

Tales of Welys and Dervishes.

(*Continued from Q.S.*, 1916, *p.* 137.)

The story of the Discovery of the Pious People (اطيار) *and their Wives.*

A certain black man went from Beit Nattîf to Egypt to find employment. On reaching Egypt he was directed to Zagazig where he found a job as a digger for some Europeans who were making excavations. During the work they continually found human bones, which they threw away with the earth.

One night the black man had a dream, in which he heard someone say: "To-morrow, you will find a cave in which are buried the wives of certain pious folk. Do not enter the cave."

In the morning work was resumed as usual, and presently a door was found. On looking into the opening the diggers saw chairs of gold and skeletons sitting on them, as if alive. The wakīl ordered the workers to enlarge the opening so that he could enter. When this was done, he ordered the workmen to enter the cave and to remove its contents, but they refused, because they saw that the bodies still had flesh clinging to the bones, and the shrouds were decayed and their private parts were uncovered. The wakīl drew near to uncover the bodies completely, and lo, the figures began to draw their shrouds over their faces and their private parts. And the wakīl wished to make further investigation, but he heard a voice which said: "Do not uncover the people of God." Undeterred, however, by this, he advanced and touched one of the female figures. Immediately, he exclaimed: "My eyes, my eyes!" and on being led out he was found to be blind. When they returned to the place after taking him home, they found it was all covered in again and they could not re-discover it.

Story about the Sheikh Abū Midiān.[1]

There is a wely in Jerusalem called Zāweyāt Abū Midiān which belongs to the Mughrabis. This Sheikh Abu Midiān was a Mughrabī from the city of Telman, who left his country and wandered away in the love of God and of His Apostle. First, he went to the Hijaz accompanied by forty warriors, who were under his command. And when the Apostle of God appeared to him, he left the Hijāz and came to Jerusalem. There he found the city being besieged by King Dhaher and the Sultān Badr; and the inhabitants of the city were infidels, living in caves and tunnels. King Dhaher had already spent forty days in the siege without success, for the city was surrounded by a wall with iron gates. And Sultān Badr and his people were accustomed to spend the nights at Sharafāt, where is now the makām of his daughter Sittna Badrīyeh. When Abu Midiān knew that, he came to the gates of the city but found them closed; the soldiers of the king asked Abū Midiān: "Whence are you, and why do you come here?" And the followers of Abū Midiān answered: "We are pilgrims." At length, one day Abū Midiān stood at the gate now known as Bab el-Mugharbī (Dung Gate) holding in his hand a stick, while the men with him had sticks and small knives (شبارى). Abū Midiān, exclaiming: "Oh, power of God and the Prophet," knocked at the gate with his stick, and the gate fell out and he threw it into the valley. Then he cried out to his people: "Behold, my people, ye men!" and he marched before them exclaiming: "*La illahu il 'Allāh Muhammad rasūl Allah*," the people chanting after him. He entered the city and began to slay the infidels. King Dhaher heard the chanting, and, coming with his soldiers, saw that Abū Midiān had broken into the city. Heavy fighting took place against the people of the city, and no less than thirty-three were killed of the followers of Abū Midiān, leaving only seven surviving. At length the city surrendered, and Abū Midiān asked about his followers; they told him that only seven survived. He searched for the dead and found them in a cave, which is now the Zāweh, and he buried them there. He also buried there his hand which had been cut off in the fighting; and they likewise placed there the stick with which he had beaten the gate. This is still to be seen in the Zāweh Abū Midiān. After this, Abū Midiān

[1] A makām opposite the Ecce Homo Arch, Jerusalem.

met King Dhaher, who asked him what reward he wanted for all he had done. He said: "I want as much land as I can cover with the hide of a bull." The king granted him this, and he brought the hide of a bull and with it made a rope, and he measured with it and when he had turned his hand to the four quarters [*i.e.*, when he had completed the enclosure all round] the space enclosed comprised half Jerusalem. The king exclaimed: "Why so much? Do you want to be king over the whole place?" But he said: "No, I only want it to be waḳf to me and to my descendants." The king granted him what he asked. After that Abu Midlān took a journey and before he left he put one of his men in this place, and the place continues to be called Zāwet Abu Midlān to the present day.

The story of Sheikh Burhān ed-Dīn el-Mufabedy in Hebron.

Sheikh Burhān ed-Dīn is one of the "noble people" of Hebron, and is one of the "people of a way" (طريق). The following story is told of him: When he was living he obtained a zāweyeh; and he was able to make himself invisible at times. Now he had a female servant called Luleh, an attractive woman who "took power" from him and became a derwisheh and who continually lived in his house. The people began to gossip about her and to spread rumours disgraceful to the sheikh: and one day the sheikh fell ill and he sent to his people that they should come to him, but none came. And so the sheikh sent Luleh saying: "Go to my relations and tell them that Sheikh Burhān is at the point of death and has some information to give them before he dies. If they will not come, the sin be on their necks." Luleh went and told them what the sheikh had said, and they at once came to him. And the sheikh said to them: "I am at the point of death, and I desire that the produce of a vineyard which I have in such and such a place shall go to my servant Luleh, because of all the faithful service she has rendered me, but after her death you will inherit it. But beware of opposing this, and I warn you to take every possible care of her."

When the relations heard these words they were very bitter about it, because they did not like to hear even her name mentioned, and they replied: "Take her with you to your grave to bear you company there, and then you can settle your account with your God about her." And they arose and departed.

A few days later the sheikh died, and his relations and some of the people of his village assembled at the zāweyeh and began to speak against him, especially with regard to the derwisheh Luleh and to the vineyard which he wished to take from his relations for her benefit. And they began to cast discredit on his claims as a true derwīsh. And Luleh heard all this talk. They washed the body and took it to the burial-ground of the *Ma'abedeh* family. And after the prayers were finished and they were about to lay the body in the grave, Luleh drew near and said to those around: "I beg you to let me speak with him a few words and to say farewell." They made way for her and she drew near to the bier and raised the lid and said: "Oh, Sheikh Burhān ed-Dīn, you are now altogether dead and have departed away to the *Dar el-hakk* (house of truth), and have left me in this world after ye have brought shame upon me before all the people, and even at this time people are talking against me. And you have not made any manifestation of your piety up to this moment. If now you do not justify my purity before men, I will make your mākam as a dung-heap all my life." Upon these words everybody saw that Sheikh Burhān was trembling inside the coffin, and then he flew up from the cemetery to the vineyard above the city and he descended into another burial-ground west of the city. When the relations and friends saw that, they were filled with astonishment, and began greatly to blame themselves for what they had said against Luleh. And they saw that the words they had said against him had made him angry, so that he refused to be buried with his relations in their cemetery. So they buried him at the spot where the body had rested, and they all began to ask pardon of Luleh, to kiss her hand and ask her for her blessing.

The story of Sheikh 'Ali Bukā of Hebron.

This is one of the famous local sheikhs noted for their pious deeds. He was servant of one of the Shurēfa el-Khalīl (nobles of Hebron). One day when Sheikh 'Ali was with his lord, he told him: "Before very long you will die, but not in the Faith nor in the straight way." His lord exclaimed: "What words are these? Are you a prophet?" He replied: "I am no prophet, but nevertheless I speak the truth."

After a time this great man died, and being honoured by the people they came from the whole district round to attend his funeral. After the body was washed, it was taken in procession to the cemetery and after the prayers the leader of the ceremonies said: "The shurēf has been removed by God's mercy. What witness do you bear to him?" And all the people exclaimed: "He is one of the good (خير)." But the derwīsh shouted: "He died an unbeliever, without trust in God." At this everyone was astonished, because all who knew him, the whole city indeed, bore witness that he was a good man. So they said: "Sheikh 'Ali, bears false witness against his master because he has a quarrel with him." And they hustled him out of the cemetery, saying to him: "How can you bear false witness against your lord? We think it is because you are jealous." But he replied: "I bear witness only to the truth. God has caused him to die and he is buried, and this too in the burial-ground of the Mohammedans. Let us see in the morning. We will come here and uncover the grave and, if we find him, then my words are false."

To this they all agreed. After speculating in their minds about this affair all night, they assembled in the morning and the grave was opened, and in it was found not the shurēf but another man with a hat upon his head: so they knew that he had died in a wrong state of faith.

From that time Sheikh 'Ali began to weep when anyone spoke to him, and also when anyone brought him food or drink. And he would not associate with anyone else or speak to them. This continued till his death, and so he was called Sheikh 'Ali el-Bukā (بكا), "the Weeper." His maḳam is still in Hebron and he has descendants there and also at Lydda and Ramleh.

The following is told of one of Sheikh 'Ali's descendants from Lydda, who was a judge in Gaza and, like his ancestor, was called 'Ali. He came to Hebron on some business for the government. When the business was finished his friends who had come with him, including among them a zābit (officer), wanted to hasten their return to Gaza. But 'Ali said to them: "I must remain here this night that I may pay a visit to my grandfather's grave." The others said: "You are from Lydda, what grandfather have you in

this city?" And the judge said: "My grandfather is Sheikh 'Ali el-Baka." And they were all astonished and laughed at him, saying:

"You are from Lydd
And you have here a jidd (grandfather)
And relate yourself to Sheikh 'Ali."

The judge replied: "Let us now go to the makām and you will find it shut. If I am one of his descendants I shall be able to open the gate and enter, and if I am not I shall not be able. Here is a test if you wish it." They all adjourned to the makām and when they arrived there he said: "Now you shall see the proof. Look if the door is shut or not." And they saw that the door was shut and locked. And the judge drew near, saying: "In the name of the most merciful God," and he took hold of the gate and it opened at once. And the judge turned to the people and said: "Will you be pleased to enter?" And when they saw these things they asked his forgiveness for what they had spoken against him.

(*To be continued.*)

LORD KITCHENER'S WORK IN PALESTINE.

By Estelle Blyth.

The month of November is one of the pleasantest of the year in Palestine. The dry heat of the long summer, culminating in the fierce October siroccos, has been broken by the first rains; everywhere the parched, cracked soil softens and expands, the thick white dust is laid, the olive trees are washed clean so that the full beauty of their silver-green leaves appears, and the air becomes fresh and clear and fragrant. During the great heat all colour is burnt out of the sky, but now we see it brilliantly blue, flecked over with white clouds; and we have also wonderful sunrises and sunsets, whose swiftly-changing beauty evades description but is never lost to memory. A few little green blades show here and there on the bare hills, and small pale pink crocuses, heralds of cooler weather.

It was on November 19th, 1874, that Lieut. H. H. Kitchener, R.E., joined the camp of the Western Survey party at edh-Dharîyeh

(Kirjath-Sepher), between Beersheba and Hebron,—a small village whence "many ancient roads lead to Gaza, Hebron and Beersheba, and to the east, all marked by the remains of pavements and side-walls." The story of his joining the Palestine Exploration Fund, as told in the early annals of the Society itself, is a very simple one, and not nearly so rapid and exciting as a version that appeared in a daily paper not many months ago. After the death of Mr. Tyrwhitt Drake, Lieut. Conder proposed to the Committee that another officer of Engineers should be given to the Expedition under his command, and he further undertook to find the man. At a meeting in September a letter from Lieut. Conder was read, recommending the appointment of Lieut. H. H. Kitchener, R.E.; the War Office being approached on the subject gave permission, and in October, 1874, Lieut. Kitchener was appointed to the Western Survey. As that was on October 12th, and he joined the camp on November 19th, it is evident that little time was lost. His arrival had been anxiously awaited by Lieut. Conder, who writes on November 5th: "With the assistance of Lieut. Kitchener, whom we are anxiously expecting, we may hope to reach, or perhaps even to exceed, the former rate of progress" (*Q.S.*, 1875, p. 12).

Despite rather frequent and severe attacks of fever, Lieut. Kitchener's work in Palestine was characterized by the tireless energy and exhaustive thoroughness that we of a later generation have come to associate with his name; and reading the account of the Survey will speedily convince anyone that, in Conder's words, "the Survey of Palestine was no holiday task." The allusions to Kitchener in Lieut. Conder's reports are only incidental and occasional, but they all show what manner of man he was. "Lieut. Kitchener succeeded in obtaining some photographs (at Tell Jezer) under peculiarly unfavourable circumstances. . . . Lieut. Kitchener at once found the other inscription noticed by M. Ganneau" (*Q.S.*, 1875, p. 75). "The town of *Keratiya* . . . agrees well, as pointed out by Lieut. Kitchener, with the position required for Galatia" (*Q.S.*, 1875, p. 158). His skill as a photographer is often mentioned. "We made a careful survey of Ascalon to a large scale, with photographs by Lieut. Kitchener. . . . Lieut. Kitchener was the first to photograph the interior of the cathedral of St. John Baptist (at Gaza), now a mosque, formerly a church, even older than crusading times" (*Q.S.*, 1875, p. 188). "The photographs of Lieut. Kitchener . . . will give a far better idea of the scene

(of the battlefield at Gath) than I can convey in words" (*Q.S.*, 1875, p. 195). Something else beside surveying happened at Ascalon, which we give in Lieut. Conder's own words: "We were also able to enjoy a daily bathe in the sea, which, however, nearly cost me my life on the 5th of April; for the surf was breaking, and a strong suck-back of the waves carried me out into the broken water, whence I was rescued by Lieut. Kitchener" (*Tent Work*, II, p. 164). The story reads rather sadly to-day.

From November, 1874, to July, 1875, we hear very little about Lieut. Kitchener, and nothing from him. In July the "murderous and unprovoked attack" upon the party by Moslems at Safed threw the command temporarily upon Kitchener, and we get his first report, written from Mount Carmel. "Being placed in command of the Expedition, owing to the temporary illness of Lieut. Conder, I write by his wish to inform the Committee that the Survey is at present entirely suspended in consequence of two causes—the first being a murderous and unprovoked attack on the party by Moslem inhabitants of Safed (particulars enclosed); the second the gradual spread of cholera over the north of Palestine. Lieut. Conder and myself consider, under these circumstances, that we cannot take the responsibility of conducting the party again into the field till a very severe punishment has been awarded to the inhabitants of Safed, and until the steady advance of the cholera is checked. I feel certain that neither of these obstacles will be removed under two or three months" (*Q.S.*, 1875, p. 195). Kitchener merely says of himself that he is "still suffering from bruises received during the engagement"; Lieut. Conder gives a fuller account. The Survey party had only just arrived and were pitching camp when a sudden disturbance called Lieut. Conder from his tent. He found a Moslem sheikh "engaged in throwing stones" at one of his servants, and on Conder appearing the man actually seized the English officer by the throat and shook him. Conder's first thought was that the man was mad, his second that, "mad or not, to put up with such an insult would be to lose influence with the natives for ever, and I therefore knocked the sheikh down." By this time the whole camp was in commotion, and a quickly-gathering crowd of about three hundred persons was busily employed in hurling large stones at them,—the Eastern's first and favourite missile. "Lieut. Kitchener was struck by them more than once. . . . The cries which Christians in Palestine have good reason to

dread, associated as they are with memories of massacre, were now raised by the mob—'Allah! Allah!' the shout which has since then been heard so often in Bulgaria, and 'Din! Din! Din Muhammed!' the cry of the Damascus massacres. . . . I now endeavoured to rally the whole party, being most energetically assisted by Lieut. Kitchener, . . . but just at this moment a number of fully-armed men came running down the hillside, all relatives or retainers of the sheikh himself, who, as we afterwards found, was no less a person than 'Aly Agha 'Allan, a near relation of 'Abd el-Kader himself. I advanced at once to meet these assailants, and singled out two men. . . . They addressed me with many curses, . . . but it was a wonderful instance of the influence which a European may always possess over Arabs, that they allowed me to take them by the arms and turn them round, and that on my telling them to go home, with a slight push in that direction, they actually retreated some little way. Meantime, a most extraordinary figure appeared, a black man with pistols in his belt, brandishing a scimitar over his head, and bellowing like a bull. He was the Agha's slave, and was bent on revenge; seeing him so near, and seeing also a gun pointed at my head, I retreated to the tent. I could not help laughing, even at so serious a juncture, when I found myself supported by Sergt. Armstrong, who stood at 'the charge' armed with the legs of the camera-obscura! I now saw that Lieut. Kitchener was opposing another group to my right front, and went forward to him, when I was greeted by a blow on the forehead, from a club with nails in it, which brought the blood in a stream down my face. . . . Lieut. Kitchener at once stepped up to defend me, and parried another blow which smashed his hunting-crop, and maimed his arm; we both recovered together, and repaid the blows with our steel-headed whips. We had now for about half-an-hour kept back the crowd from our tents without firing a shot, but matters were growing very serious, and there seemed little chance of our escaping the furious mob. . . . 'There is nothing for it but to bolt!' I said. And so we bolted over thistles and stone-walls to a hillside some hundred yards away. I found that Lieut. Kitchener was missing, and again we ran back to look for him. . . . He was seen a little farther down the hill, having escaped very narrowly from the scimitar of the negro slave." Just at the critical moment of retreat a body of soldiers arrived, having been sent by the Governor, and the party were saved; but "not a member of it

had escaped injury . . . . fortunately there were no gun-shot wounds, though at least three shots had been fired, one of which was directed at Lieut. Kitchener" (*Tent Work*, II, pp. 192 *et seq.*).

The culprits in this unwarranted attack were tried at Acre, and a fine was levied upon the town that had violated every principle of Eastern honour towards strangers. The ringleader's defence was that he had been set upon by the Survey party and beaten while taking a peaceful evening walk; but his inventive genius did not save him from a sentence of eighteen months' hard labour, nor his town from a fine.

In October the Survey party returned to England, and during 1876 they were "employed in office work in the Royal Albert Hall. . . . The members who had been employed in Palestine all suffered with fever, which rendered it impossible to take the field." It is difficult to think of Kitchener as being tied to office work, though he described himself in South Africa as "a d——d good clerk!" and it is almost a relief to read of his leaving England early in January, 1877, for Palestine, with three non-commissioned officers. Lieut. Conder and two non-commissioned officers remained at home "preparing the map and memoirs for publication."

Lieut. Kitchener started from Haifa, "and extended the Survey over the plain of Akka, bringing the line of levels down to the Mediterranean." This was in February. In March he was at Hattin, thence down to Tiberias and the Lake; in April at Safed; in May "the northern boundary of the Survey was completed"; in June he was at Banias; in July back at Haifa. The Survey of Galilee was thus completed, 1,000 square miles having been added in rather less than five months. A month's rest in the Lebanon was followed by the final weeks of work. Kitchener's progress was like that of a conqueror through a land subdued, it was so sure, so swift, so complete; when we reflect that not only were all the "towns, roads, water-courses, cisterns, wells, and springs" noted and set down, but also "the cultivation shown, olives, figs, vines, and palms being distinguished," and the wild growth, oak-trees, scrub, and principal separate trees as well; while "the Roman milestones on the roads were marked, and every similar relic of antiquity; the heights of the various principal features given, and the important water-levels "fixed to within a foot,"—then, indeed, the achievement becomes little short of amazing. The Survey of Western Palestine was finished on the 27th September, 1877. In

the last seven months of work 1,340 square miles had been surveyed, "making a grand total of 6,040 square miles"; the work of the previous four years had covered 4,700 square miles. These four years of splendid patient work shed an enduring lustre on Lieut. Conder's name; it must have been a little hard for him to relinquish the last months of actual labour in Palestine.

Such is the skeleton outline of the Great Survey of Western Palestine from the day when Lieut. Kitchener, a young, unknown, untried officer of Engineers, joined the Expedition. We now take up his reports, that through his own words these dry bones may live. We shall find them as accurate as a Blue Book, yet never indifferent to the natural beauties of Palestine; treating of the Land and her thorny problems with a statesmanlike width of view; sympathetic towards the hard conditions of native life, yet never forgetful of what was due to himself as an English officer and an English subject; and we shall feel that it was just because he was such a thorough Englishman,—firm and upright and level-headed, not a bloodless thing of rock and iron,—that he was able to understand the East so well, and to leave in Palestine a memory of his greatness that is alive to-day.

The first report is dated from the "Palestine Survey Camp, Haifa, March 6th, 1877," and records only the difficulties that always attend the opening of work in the East. First, there is a delay of seven days at Port Said, waiting for a steamer to Beyrout; then the new Governor-General of Syria has to be waited for, as he alone can give the necessary letters before work can be resumed in Galilee; then the letters cannot be issued except at Damascus, so Kitchener goes on ahead, "to await him there." When the letters have been extracted finally, he starts the selfsame day for Haifa. Weather is also against the Survey party. "Owing to the lateness of the rainy season this year the country is still in a very swampy condition. . . . . The Kishon has to be crossed in a boat, the horses and mules swimming, and as we have had to cross it twice every day it has caused great loss of time. The first day we found considerable difficulty in crossing the Plain of Acca owing to the marshy nature of the ground after the late rains, and could only get to our work by making a long detour after some of us had experienced the pleasures of a mud bath" (*Q.S.*, 1877, p. 71). Still he is able to report on March 6th that the work which had to be done from this camp has been "satisfactorily finished."—"1st. The detail of

the Acca Plain had to be worked in; 2ndly. The line of levels running from the Mediterranean to the Sea of Galilee had to be completed from Mejdel to the sea . . . The detail of forty-five square miles has been worked in, and two bench-marks have been cut at Haifa on the rocks, and one at Jiden, thus finishing the levelling on this side" (*Q.S.*, 1877, p. 71). This is the record of a week's work. An instance of the minute and methodical accuracy of his work is given incidentally, and with humour: "I have also made a strict inquiry after the name of 'Kulmon' or 'Kulamon,' mentioned in *Q.S.*, January, 1876, p. 20, as to be found on the maps of Robinson, Ritter, and Jacotin, but not on those of M. Guerin and Vandevelde, and which also occurs on Murray's map. The German colony here have purchased nearly all the land north of Tireh, and by the kind permission of Mr. Sennaker I have been allowed to carefully examine their title-deeds; though they have land all round Khurbet Kefr es-Samir, no such name occurs. I have also ridden to Tireh with the sole object of finding this name. I asked everyone I met on the road there and back, about twenty people, first for all the names of the country round, and, as a last resource, if they had ever heard of 'Kulmon,' 'Kulamon,' or anything like it. At Khurbet Kefr es-Samir I found an old man who inhabited a cave close by, and put the same questions. At Tireh I saw the sheikh and about two dozen men; none had ever heard of such a name. Since then the superior of the convent of Mount Carmel, who knows the district most thoroughly, has assured me that no such name occurs. I can therefore only assume that the name does not exist, and that our map is therefore right in not putting it in. How other maps have procured the name seems difficult to understand; but, as in some other case, it may have been supplied by some too enthusiastic traveller, who looked more for what ought to be in the country than what is" (*Q.S.*, 1877, pp. 71 *seq.*). We have all had experience of these "too enthusiastic travellers" (such an one was the lady who was terribly heart-broken because Bethany was not the trim English village with grass and trees and nice fat cows that she had imagined it to be). Palestine has suffered many things of them from the days of the Pilgrims downwards. Kitchener, however, was hampered by no ready-made theories; he did not look for what ought to be in the country rather than what was there, and so he saw a good deal more than most people. He was also able to describe what he saw.

"The work of this month includes the survey of the Sea of Galilee, where a great many points of interest occur. The scenery of the lake is hardly what would be expected of a basin 685 feet below the sea level. The hills on the eastern side have an almost perfectly level outline, scarcely broken by any valley of importance, and decidedly monotonous in appearance; still the bright sunshine throws a rosy haze over the country, and the contrast with the bright blue water is very beautiful. The best views of the lake are from a distance on the many heights from which it is visible. As thus seen in the evening it is particularly lovely. Deep blue shadows seem to increase the size of the hills, and there is always a rosy flush in the sky and over snow-clad Hermon."

He strikes one as being keenly alive to the beauty of the land, and to the curious sharp contrasts in scenery which are one of her greatest fascinations; the accuracy of his descriptions in no wise lessens or impairs their charm. The following extracts have not been selected with any care, but are taken one after another from his reports:—

"The country is now very lovely, carpeted with flowers and green with growing crops" (*Q.S.*, 1877, p. 119). "The scenery of the lake (Galilee) is decidedly monotonous, but there is a great charm in that dry and thirsty land in having a vast expanse of fresh water spread out before the eyes, and at night the effect of the moon in Eastern brightness shining on the calm lake was exceedingly beautiful" (*Q.S.*, 1878, p. 165). "From Tell el-Kâdy to Banias the road passes through park-like scenery, the country being thickly studded with trees, principally oak, not very large, but very refreshing after the bare plain on the west of the tell. After mounting a slight ridge the village of Banias is seen, situated in a small plain at the junction of two wâdies coming from the north and east; these join in front of the town and run south. The village is completely surrounded and shut in by trees of all sorts, and looks remarkably green and lovely, with the castle of Subeibeh towering above it. On approaching the village the running water is seen falling over cascades, tearing through thickets, and almost hidden by creepers. The source is to the north-east of the town, and the stream runs west till it joins the wâdy from the north at the north-west angle of the town, in which there is also a small stream; it then rushes down a steep fall forming a foaming torrent to its junction with Nahr Leddûn. A bridge crosses the stream before

the town. The spring itself is a hundred yards east, and before reaching the bridge a great deal of the water is diverted for irrigation and to turn mills in the town. Little streams seem to be running in every direction, making this one of the most lovely spots in Palestine" (*Q.S.*, 1877, p. 172). "The country round our camp (at Dibl) consisted of low hills, either cultivated or covered with brushwood. To the west the brushwood increased, and the wādies ran in deeper gorges down towards the sea. . . . There are not so many olive-trees as in the south" (*Q.S.*, 1877, p. 165). "Kades is situated on a spur overlooking on the east a long narrow plain, which runs north and south, and is enclosed by low hills covered with brushwood. On the east these hills fall abruptly to the Huleh marshes. Tell Hari stands out prominently to the south-east, and its eastern slopes descend to the northern shore of the Lake Huleh. . . . . West of the lake is the broad plain of El-Kheit; . . . the lake is three and a half miles long, and broadest at its northern extremity, where it ends in an impenetrable jungle of papyrus canes growing out of a marsh" (*Q.S.*, 1877, p. 167). "The whole country (between Hebron and Gaza,—he writes in October) was as bare as a freshly-ploughed field, and, far from being a dead level, as shown on existing maps, not a tree or house to be seen in the wide prospect of rolling ground. In the spring, however, all this country is green with barley" (*Q.S.*, 1878, p. 12).

It will be noticed that most of his descriptions apply to Galilee, which is, perhaps, the garden of Palestine. Around Jerusalem (I speak of pre-war days) the country is being speedily and very literally laid waste by a systematic and wholesale export of plants and bulbs to America, and owing to this evil practice, and to the rapid growth of new houses and colonies, the flowers are being frightened away; where ten years ago a short walk would overfill baskets with flowers of every kind, you may now trudge for an afternoon and bring back the merest handfuls. But Galilee is still rich; great masses of scarlet anemones lie on the countryside like a stain of blood, fields of speedwell look like little pools from a distance, tulips, pink and yellow flax, irises, gladioli, poppies, asphodel, and oleanders,—these run riot in Galilee. To describe such a scene is to spoil it, for words can give only such a faint impression of the "glorious wastefulness" of spring out there; and who that has seen it, can forget?

I am tempted to give one more description of Banias. "The

great spring at Banias has from an early date been allowed to be the real source of the River Jordan. The water gushes out of a cave situated in the face of a cliff of limestone rock about one hundred feet high. Earthquakes have shaken down great fragments of rock, so that the base of the cliff has been blocked up and the cave almost entirely ruined. The water now finds its way through this mass of stones by different channels, uniting immediately below the *débris*, and forming at once a strong stream that irrigates the surrounding gardens and makes Banias the most beautiful place in Palestine. By this stream stood the ancient Panium of the Greeks, and here Herod erected a temple in honour of Augustus. There are three votive niches in the face of the rock. They were once much higher above the ground than now. Two of them bear Greek inscriptions, in one of which 'Priest of Pan' is mentioned. This was also the site of Caesarea Philippi of the New Testament, and it has been suggested that this rock was intended in our Lord's words: 'Upon this rock I will build My church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it' (Matt. xvi, 18). The magnificent olive trees formed a delightful shade, while the trickling stream of water led through our camp, making everything cool and delightful. Under the roots of these great trees we found remains of tesselated pavement in different coloured marbles, showing that some ancient building once occupied this site. A hundred yards to the east of the camp was the great source of Jordan, clear and sparkling, and delightfully cold" (*Q.S.*, 1878, pp. 140 *seq.*).

The soldier's eye, naturally, was quick to discover and appreciate points of military advantage.

"In the precipitous rocks of the Wādy Hamam, east of Irbid, are situated the celebrated cliffs from whence Herod the Great dislodged the robbers by attacking them from above. Both sides of the wādy are honeycombed by caves, but the principal ones, called Kal'at Ibn Ma'an, are situated on the southern side, where the cliffs are upwards of a thousand feet above the bed of the wādy. . . . The castle is situated opposite where the Wādy Muhammed el-Khalaf breaks into the valley. . . . The traces of well-made basalt stairs lead up to the foot of the castle. The entrance was flanked by small round towers, besides loopholed galleries on the face of the rock. The castle consisted of natural and artificial caves in several tiers, walled in on the outside and connected by galleries and staircases along the face of the rock.

The walls were built with great care . . . they are loopholed. . . . The place is inhabited by immense flocks of pigeons, from which the valley takes its name, and a great number of vultures and eagles. Water was brought from Irbid by an aqueduct running along the face of the cliff above the castle, and then fell vertically into cisterns in the building. . . . This fortress, rendered almost impregnable by nature and art, might afford accommodation for six hundred or seven hundred men, and commands the main highway from Damascus to Western Palestine, which leads up the Wādy Hamam" (*Q.S.*, 1877, pp. 118 *seq.*) "Two miles north of the southern wall of the present Tiberias (which may be on the site of the northern wall of the ancient city), a spur runs down from the hills ending in a rounded hill, the eastern slope of which descends steeply to the water. On this top are ruins called Khurbet Kuneitriyeh consisting of heaps of cut stones, with foundations of walls; . . . to the north is an open space where Wādy Abu el-'Amis runs down to the sea; . . . beyond are the high rocky hills called Burj Neiat, which again run down steeply to the seashore. This must have been a very strong position on the road, and I think fulfils the requirements of Tarichaea, which was besieged after Tiberias by Vespasian, his camp being placed between the two towns" (*B.J.* III, 10).[1] "During the survey of the shores (of the Sea of Galilee) we made one considerable discovery, the site of Sennabris, mentioned by Josephus as the place where Vespasian pitched his camp when marching on the insurgents of Tiberias. The name Sinn en-Nabra still exists, and is well known to the natives; it applies to a ruin situated on a spur from the hills that close the southern end of the Sea of Galilee; it formed, therefore, the defence against an invader from the Jordan plain, and blocked the great main road in the valley. Close beside it there is a large artificially formed plateau, defended by a water-ditch on the south, communicating with Jordan, and by the Sea of Galilee on the north. This is called Khurbet el-Kerāk, and is, I have not the slightest doubt, the remains of Vespasian's camp described by Josephus. It is just like another

[1] "And now Vespasian pitched his camp between this city (Tiberias) and Tarichaea, but fortified his camp more strongly, as suspecting that he should be forced to stay there and have a long war; for all the innovators had gotten together at Tarichaea, as relying upon the strength of the city, and on the lake that lay behind it . . . The city itself is situated at the bottom of a mountain, and on those sides which are not washed by the sea."

Roman camp near Jenin, where an army was camped. Thus we have an example still in the country of the military precision of those irresistible conquerors. This Khurbet el-Kerāk has been identified with Tarichaea, but, as Major Wilson has pointed out, that site must be sought to the north of Tiberias. The finding of Sennabris . . . clearly proves that Tarichaea could not have been anywhere near the southern end of the lake" (*Q.S.*, 1878, p. 165). "We rode back (from Teiasir) along the remains of the Roman road. . . . The engineering of these Roman roads was excellent. Over a most difficult country such as this it excites admiration to see the way that difficulties were got over with the least possible expenditure of labour. Should Palestine ever be re-opened to civilization these roads will form the basis of the principal lines of communication through the country" (*Q.S.*, 1878, p. 63). "Looking down on the broad Plain of Esdraelon stretched out from our feet, it is impossible not to remember that this is the greatest battlefield of the world, from the days of Joshua and the defeat of the mighty host of Sisera, till, almost in our own days, Napoleon the Great fought the Battle of Mount Tabor; and here also is the ancient Megiddo, where the last great battle of Armageddon is to be fought" (*Q.S.*, 1878, p. 163).

It does not seem as if Lieut. Kitchener were very susceptible to the fascinations of old buildings, whether as the mute witnesses of a past whose glories they alone preserve, or as being in themselves beautiful and majestic beyond comparison. Palestine is full of wonderful old buildings, relics of many periods, and because the surrounding landscape has altered very little in most cases, it is easy to reconstruct a vivid picture of their individual past, so that they live again in all their old magnificence; there are also so few modern buildings that these memorials of the greater past are all the more sharply defined. Palestine is a land of many pasts and many histories, each one of which retains in unusual degree its full distinctness of value and proportion. Lieut. Kitchener examines every ruin closely, nothing escapes him, he notes tool or mason marks where others have passed over them; but his cool dispassionate descriptions are seldom touched by any sense of their romance. To compare his accounts of ancient buildings with those of Guérin, Rénan, Thompson, or Robinson, is to miss in his just that little touch which is essential if others are to see with your eyes. Their past appeals to him strongly; as he sees them now

they are principally neglected ruins. It is certain, however, that his scrupulous accuracy, his vast capacity for taking pains, are nowhere more strikingly demonstrated than in his descriptions of buildings. I would refer the reader to his description of the temple at Belat (*Q.S.*, 1877, p. 166); of Kal'at esh-Shukif, the Crusading Castle of Belfort (*Q.S.*, 1877, p. 170); of the Castle of Banias (*Q.S.*, 1877, p. 173); of Kul'at Kurein, the Crusading Castle of Montfort (*Q.S.*, 1878, p. 134); all of which are, unfortunately, too long in their faithful minuteness of detail to be quoted here. For a convincing and comprehensive brevity, however, this description of Acre could not be beaten: "This is a large fortified town on the seashore; it is only entered by one gate, and is built on a triangular point, that faces the northern limit of the Bay of 'Akka. The fortifications are old, and the guns are of ancient types and not powerful; the place could not hold out long in modern warfare. The interior of the town is well-built, the mosque being the principal building: it is decorated with the remains of the columns of the Crusading churches and Roman temples. The principal exports are barley and cotton; the barley is brought from the Hauran by camels to this port" (*Memoir*, I, p. 145). The most sympathetic descriptions he gives of buildings are, perhaps, those of the Dome of the Rock Interior and the Church at Bethlehem in his book of *Photographs of Biblical Sites*, but they have not the spontaneous charm of his little word-pictures of the Valley of Michmash and Elisha's Fountain in the same volume. We risk the conclusion that he loved the ever-changing earth, which is God's creation, better than the broken buildings that are the handiwork of men.

Other aspects of Lord Kitchener's work in Palestine—his comments on the political situation, his dealings with the people, his action in the matter of the Schapira Forgeries—claim and reward attention; and with these it may be possible to deal in a later paper.

(*To be continued.*)

ARCHAEOLOGICAL NOTES ON JEWISH ANTIQUITIES.

By Joseph Offord.

(*Continued from Q.S.*, 1916, p. 148.)

XX. *A New Jewish Incantation Bowl from Mesopotamia.*

At a meeting of the French Academy last October M. Moïse Schwab described another of the curious incantation bowls with Aramaic inscriptions of which so many have been found in Mesopotamia. The bowl in question belongs to Prof. Pozzi and bears a text of four long circular lines. The chief collections of these relics are in the Philadelphia and British Museums, and also in the Louvre. In 1912, Prof. Montgomery, in the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, edited one in private hands, and one belonging to M. Feuardent was published by M. Lacau in the *Revue d'Assyriologie*.

The paleographical interest is augmented by the fact that some of the manuscripts brought from Khotan by Von Lecoq and M. Pelliot have texts in the same script. M. Schwab terms the language that of the Targum, with some later peculiarities similar to those of the Hebrew Zohar.

The time has certainly arrived for a full corpus of these exorcisms to be produced and it is to be hoped that some United States University will undertake the task.[1]

The text upon M. Pozzi's bowl concerns a certain Fena son of Rebuta, who suffered from some disease of the spine producing violent pains in the head. We have not space here to discuss the vocabulary of the formulæ. The word טיט, which has given rise to some discussion in reference to the earlier found bowls, M. Schwab renders, in this case, "invocation." Lili (לילי) occurs for a demon, who M. Schwab says was paredra of Lilith.

[1] Prof. Montgomery's edition of the Philadelphia specimens is entitled *Aramaic Incantation Texts of Nippur* (Publications of the Babylonian Section, University of Philadelphia). Information about the Thibet manuscripts is to be found in an article by Herr Wohlstein in the *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, Vol. IX.

XXI. *The Name* Zakarbaal.

Among the Hebrew names upon the Samaria Ostraca occurs Ba'alâzakar, which is interesting to anyone acquainted with the Egyptian papyri, because it so closely coincides with the name Zakar-baal, which as we now see was quite correctly deciphered by Prof. Golénischeff. Zakar-baal was the name of the prince of Dor, south of Carmel, on the Palestine coast, mentioned in the curious account of Wen-Amon's journey to Phoenicia in the days of Ramses XII. A Phoenician signet in the British Museum had for owner Zakar-Hoshea, and students will call to mind the many Biblical Jewish name compounds of Zecher. A recent razzia on the Punjab frontier was carried out by the Zacher-Khels. The signification in personal names was doubtless "memorable" (famed ones). Its meaning may be illustrated from cuneiform literature, as may almost all the Hebrew vocabulary. Thus in Assyrian to take an oath, or vow, that is to bind, or charge, the memory, was *nîs ili-zakâru*, "to pronounce a deity's name," the concept being that the god would remember the oath who was invoked at its taking. The root-meaning runs through the Semitic dialects; and perhaps from these arose Θεόμνηστος and Διόμνηστος. The papyrus of the Voyage of Wen-Amon, which refers to Zakar-baal, bears a difficult hieratic text, and it is very satisfactory that it proves to be so accurately translated.[1]

XXII. *The Weight* Karsha.

In the Aramaic Elephantine papyri concerning the Jewish garrison at Elephantine a word is employed for a weight karsha (כרש) which is a rendering of the Persian title for a weight of the same gravity, 10 shekels (karasha). This term is to be found upon a unique weight in the British Museum mentioned in the *Guide to the Babylonian and Assyrian Antiquities* (p. 172), No. 9117, which bears upon it an inscription 2 karasha (= $\frac{1}{3}$ of a mina). This fact is deserving of mention because it proves the genuineness of these

[1] For a more complete discussion of this subject, previous to the discovery of the Samaria Ostraca, see Joseph Offord, "Semitic Analogies for Old Testament Names," *Proc. Soc. Biblical Archaeology*, 1902, p. 242, *seq.* In the Tel el-Amarna tablets the sentence, *la-a i-sa ḫar ši-ḫu i-zakir*, is interesting in connection with the subject. An Assyrian tablet apparently relating to the Girgashites mentions a chieftain named Zakar-gimilli.

papyri. Just as this Persian word was adopted into Aramaic, so it was taken over into the Sanskrit, for it was used as Karsa (*cf.* the coin Kārṣāpana) with the meaning of a certain weight. Cunningham, in his *Coins of Ancient India*, not knowing of its Iranian origin, or of its being sufficiently common to have spread to Palestine and Egypt, considered it a derivative of Sanskrit *Krish*, "to mark." Mr. F. W. Thomas points out that like the Vedic manā, or mina, it came to India from the west.

Prof. Sayce has noted an apparently interesting corroboration of the Elephantine records of the permit having been given for the restoration of the Jewish shrine there to Yahu by recording the discovery in a quarry in Upper Egypt of three mason's marks upon pieces of stone reading *bēth* (בית), "house." The form of the letters is identical with that of those employed for the same term in the papyri. They indicated to the workmen the destination or employment for the stones when cut, and may have designated the temple in question, "the house of Yahu."

XXIII. *Latin Inscriptions from Lebanon and Arabia.*

Although all exploration in Palestine is for the present at an end, the results of previous work there are from time to time published. Prof. J. A. Montgomery of Pennsylvania University, for instance, has edited a Latin inscription copied by him some time ago in Southern Lebanon, which is worthy of attention as probably proclaiming the date and origin of the many tombs in that district whose era was uncertain. Although the dedicator of this text was of Arabian, or perhaps more correctly Iturean, race (a people who under the Roman Empire settled all over Syria), the record is in Latin:—

OMRIVS
MAXIMVS
—IRAIFILIVS
IOVIMO . . . . A
DESVOFECIT

"Omrius Maximus son of —ira made for Jupiter . . . . . at his own expense (? from his own property)."

A much mutilated Latin inscription found by Père Savignac at Kal'at ez-Zerga ten years ago was edited by M. Clermont-Ganneau, with comments by Prof. Brünnow, and should be recorded in our

Journal because, as M. Ganneau mentioned, it indicates the transference of troops from Palestine to Arabia, and the construction of a fort on the *limes* of the Arabian province frontier. If the Arabian governor was A. Aurelius Theo, as suggested by Brünnow, it would be an event taking place under Valerian and Gratian.

. . . . . Augg., tu(t)e(l)ae gratia, ex Palaes(tina in provinciam Arabiam?) . . . . . tra(nstul)erunt (cas)tra (q)uo(q)ue (a) solo oppo(rtunis loces . . . erunt, et . . . . extr)uexerunt, per Aur(elium) . . . . m leg(atum) Aug(g n).

The completion of the lacunae is that of M. Ganneau, and he gives the alternatives in the second and third lines of disposuerunt and vallis or fossis, or (vallo fossaque abdu)xerunt.[1]

XXIV. *The Site of Capernaum.*

At the meeting last Christmas of the "Archaeological Institute of America," Prof. E. A. Wicher, of San Francisco, read a paper entitled, "A New Argument for Locating Capernaum at Khan Minyeh." This he derived from the fact that he had noticed the remains of a Roman aqueduct running northward to a spring. This, he says, continued to bring water to Khan Minyeh until the seventeenth century, and for the Genneseret Plain lower down. Prof. Wicher refers to the statement of Josephus that this plain was watered from a very fertile fountain called Capernaum, but in the summary of his paper in the *American Journal of Archaeology* there is no mention of the spring still existing close to the shore, the 'Ain es-Sin, nor is there any reference to the other some three miles to the south, called the "Circular Fountain," which may be that to which Josephus alludes.

Prof. Wicher points out that the Tell el-Oreimah, which is now 330 feet above the lake level, when crowned with the buildings which the ruins on the summit prove were once there, would render our Lord's saying as to Capernaum being "exalted unto heaven" more appropriate than any such allusion would be to a site at Tell Hûm.

XXV. *The Title of "King of Kings."*

The following note is supplementary to the essay upon Babylonian and Hebrew Theophoric names in the April *Quarterly Statement*.

[1] See M. Clermont-Ganneau's *Recueil d'Archéologie Orientale*.

Hebrew writers of the Old Testament were very chary of applying to earthly potentates any honorific title which might possess some semblance of arrogating to a man the powers or attributes of the Almighty. This precaution is interestingly illustrated by the phrase "king of kings," which occurs in Ezra vii, 12, concerning Artaxerxes, Ezekiel xxvi, 7, and Daniel ii, 37, of Nebuchadnezzar, and 2 Maccabees xiii, 4, of Antiochus. It also appears frequently in the apochryphal Book of Enoch. In the first four instances it is solely allotted to monarchs of neighbouring nations to Palestine. We possess valuable evidence of the correctness of its ascription to foreign monarchs, in the first case, from a letter which was sent from Artaxerxes to Paetus, given in Hercher's *Epistolographia Hellenikoi*, wherein the king calls himself *βασιλεὺς βασιλέων μέγας*; and in a letter addressed by Hystanes to the king, he ascribes to him the same high-sounding title.

It has been suggested that this title was not familiar anywhere until the Persian period, and therefore there is not anything remarkable in Jewish literature not recording it, except as attributing it to heathen monarchs; but this view is incorrect, because the Old Testament gives it to Nebuchadnezzar, and we have ample evidence of its early use. An Aramaic title in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum*, No. 82, reads סמראל, "king of kings is El," which Mr. Stanley Cook suggests probably should have read סרסראל. The Prince of Sidon, Bod Astart, in his inscriptions, is "king of kings," whilst Eshmunazar, of the same dynasty, calls his contemporary monarch "lord of kings." The date of these Phoenician princedoms is, however, generally ascribed to the Persian period. But to go back to the period of Amenhotep III, this Pharaoh was called "king of kings." In Assyria, Assurnazirpal was "king of kings" and "lord of lords." Esarhaddon was styled "king of kings" as suzerain over the small kingdoms he had established in Egypt, and a cuneiform text in the *Revue d'Assyriologie*, XI, p. 99, calls him "lord of lords."

Many instances of Persian and Parthian monarchs having such a title can be given, and they doubtless assumed it because it was used by predecessors of great antiquity. This, however, does not add to the evidence it is desired to produce here to the effect that Hebrew writers of all the historical and prophetical books never used it for any personage except when quoting the edict of some foreign monarch. To the Jew, as we can see from Ecclesiastes xi, 5,

God made all things; and He was the Only One who could consistently be termed "king of kings."

The Mesopotamians also felt this, because their god Ea was called Ea-ban-Kala, "creator of the universe." The goddess Šala was Ša Kallati, and Sin, the Moon-god, Sin-li-i-Kallati, "lord over all things." The earliest yet known cuneiform text using this phrase is in a hymn addressed to the primitive deity Enlil, and designates him "lord of lords" and "king of kings." See *Proc. Soc. Biblical Archaeology*, 1912, p. 155. This view of the Deity was echoed by the Emperor Julian, who was steeped in Oriental lore, and who speaks of ὁρασχεὺς τῶν ὅλων Ἥλιος. But the Mesopotamians deified their kings, thus derogating to them the attributes of God, an act impossible to a Jew who possessed concepts of the Divine far above those of the surrounding peoples.

(*To be continued.*)

THE WARNING WRITING ON THE WALL AT BELSHAZZAR'S BANQUET.

By Joseph Offord.

When commenting upon "An Aramaic Text upon a Babylonian Contract Tablet" in the April (*Quarterly Statement*, p. 97, I mentioned that the word *parus*, there used for a half mina, was of interest in connexion with the Greek version word *peres*, of Daniel v, 25, in the mystic sentence, *Mene, mene, tekel peres* (*Upharsin*). It is convenient, therefore, that in the same volume of our Journal some significant sentences in cuneiform literature tending to show that the supernatural phenomenon of a hand writing upon a portion of the hall, or room, in which Belshazzar's fateful feast was held, would not be deemed a very surprising occurrence to the Babylonian and Assyrian courtiers and guests.

The, to us, almost pathetically persistent belief of ancient peoples in priestly magic or in priestly power to interpret events, has preserved, especially in Babylonia, hundreds of records of enchant-

ments and inexplicable wonders. Derivable from dreams, and a prolific fancy when awake, such imaginary marvels were utilised as omens. Frequently the augurs interpreted "visions and appearances," and their renderings of these are still preserved to us in imperishable clay-tablets. Although the remnants of these omen records we possess are such a small proportion of their original number, we already have several which refer to portents portrayed by mysterious ghostly or non-mortal writing or drawing upon a wall, or objects of stone.

In the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology* for 1914, cuneiform texts are given concerning omens deducible from such an occurrence as: "If in a man's house an 'Algamish' is designed upon a wall." Other lines upon the same tablet refer to figures upon a wall, but it does not indubitably appear that these were supposed to have been delineated by spirits or supernatural agency.

Prof. Prince[1] quotes from a cylinder of Gudea, patesi of Telloh, or Lagash, the following words: "The queen of lands appeared in a vision. In the midst of my dream there was a woman, a pure pen (stylus) she held in her hand. The tablet of the good star of heaven she bore. A second hero there was. Beside me a tablet of lapis lazuli he held in his hand. The temple's plan he gave to me."

These sentences show that written communications, and even architectural plans, could be derived from dreams. It is possible that we possess a copy of this very supernatural temple plan, for Gudea's statue bears one such engraved resting upon his lap.

Prof. Prince has also been able to supply a much closer parallel to the story of Belshazzar's banquet warning given by Daniel from a text concerning King Assurbannipal as follows:—

"Upon that day a certain scribe fell asleep, and saw a vision, namely, upon the surface of the crescent of the god Sin (the moon), it stood written thus: Whoever has devised evil against the king of Assyria, to them will I give a baneful death. By the swiftly casting into the fire.[2] These things I heard (understood). I trusted in the words of the god Sin, my lord."

[1] *American Journal of Biblical Literature;* and Cylinder of Gudea, IV, 13, etc.

[2] For "fire," compare the furnace into which Shadrach, Meshech, and Abednego were placed. Assurbannipal in his Annals (ll. 163–164) says: "Saulmugina my rebellious brother who made war with me, into a fiery furnace burning they threw him and destroyed his life."

It may be suggested that the dreamer saw the ominous text graven upon the crescent moon in the heavens. But it is far more probable that his vision conjured up one of the god Sin's lunar emblems emblazoned upon, or attached to, the walls of some temple, or house, in the city. Or it may have been some crescent symbol, perhaps silvered and placed in some sacred shrine, or above the grand altar in a holy place.

The foregoing curious coincidences with the miracle reported by Daniel will cause the following sentence adduced, of similar character, to be perused with less surprise. In a tablet numbered 11030 in the British Museum collection, is a text which A. Boissier renders thus: "If upon the summit of a palace a finger designs a figure, the Diviners gather together. If upon the *napsat* of a palace, a finger designs a figure, [word false, incomplete]. If in the midst of a palace, a finger designs a figure, the brigands will overcome the country. If at the base of a palace a finger designs a figure, the Diviners of a strange country will attain power."

The similarity of these acts of handwriting and that of Daniel's story is still more striking if an improved translation of the Bible text suggested by M. Boissier is adopted. He connects the word rendered wall (כתל) with the Assyrian word *Kutallu*, meaning a special, or grand hall, or saloon. Daniel appears to have intended to convey the idea that the *Kutallu* was not the actual banquet hall, but an *entresol*, or *selamlik*, communicating with the festival room by a wide doorway. M. Boissier thinks the best rendering of the words is that the king, being seated facing the wall separating the banquet-hall from the *Kutallu* hall, saw the shadow projected by the chandelier upon the extremity of the hand which was writing upon the wall. He renders the critical words thus:

"At this moment appeared the fingers of a man's hand, and they wrote in front of the chandelier upon the wall of the *Kutallu*, of the royal palace." He therefore translates *gīrā* "wall," not plaster, but the meaning may have been "stuccoed" wall, thus implying both.[1]

The notion of the Deity judging mortals by means of a balance, and thus demonstrating to themselves the equity of the decision, is, in the Greek classics, applied to man's fate whilst upon earth. Thus, Aeschylus writes in the "Suppliants":—

[1] See *Proceedings Society of Biblical Archaeology*, 1896, p. 237.

"O, Almighty Zeus, thou swayest the earth; yet thine wholly is the beam of the balance, and without thee what cometh to pass for mortals." Theognis, alluding to the same deity, says: "Zeus inclines the balance one time one way; and another, another."[1]

These ideas may have originated in and been adopted from both Mesopotamia and Egypt. In the latter land the weighing of a heart figure in the great judgment hall of Osiris was the culminating crisis of the soul's career of struggles and adventures after death before any possibility of obtaining admission to the Elysian Fields. The scene was the favourite vignette picture for costly illustrated papyri of the "Book for the Dead." There is reason to think that the Assyrian God Nergal was a counterpart of Anubis, who superintended the Egyptian soul-weighing, Nergal being called *ša ḫâte* probably meaning "the weigher," or "of the scales," from the root *ḫâṭu*, "to weigh." He was lord of the dead, or custodian of them, and so a fit deity to decide their fate.

Some persons, to insure a true balance being used, took the precaution of having a pair of accurate scales deposited beside their mummy for the gods to utilise. Nothing could be more ethical or noble than the literary statements concerning this momentous trial, and the terms in which are couched the asseverations of never having cheated by false weights or scales whilst living.

But, with the occasional frivolity which appears to have permeated all Egyptian theology, the spirit who had reason to fear that his failures here would tell fatally against him hereafter, seems to have resorted to fraud, or hoped to be able so to do, to insure a favourable decision.

Success was achieved when the figure of truth outweighed the miniature heart symbol. The deities Anubis, Horus and Thoth superintended the séance. We see Horus verifying the cord and its suspended plummet which acted as a check indicator, whilst Anubis arrests the too prolonged swaying of the beam; and Thoth, in his divine "Book of Judgment," registers results.

But sometimes we notice depicted a little figure, supposed to be the

[1] See also Homer, *Iliad*, VIII, l. 68; XXII, l. 209, and Virgil, *Aeneid*, XII, 725; also *Iliad*, XXII, l. 209:

"Then it was that the Father drew out to their length the golden scales, and therein he placed two lots of death that brings low woe; and lifted them off the ground, and down sank, for Hector, the day of doom."

The conception of the balance of the gods must be as old as the selection of a constellation supposed to depict that instrument among the zodiacal signs.

defunct, pressing with his hand upon the tray containing the symbol of truth and honour to make it outweigh the opposite heart figure. What fee the priests demanded for inserting this interesting possibility of defeating justice and imposing upon the deities we shall never know.[1]

If there were Persians present in the assembly, the conception of judgment by balance would not be novel to them. The old Zoroastrian books speak plainly of it. The three versions of the Mōmōg-i-Khirad all recite the following description, which is rendered by Prof. William Jackson from the Pehlevi text: "There is the mediation of Mitra and Srosh and Rashnū, and the weighing of Rashnu the Just with the balance of the spirits, which renders no favour on any side, neither for the righteous nor yet for the wicked; neither for the lords nor monarchs, as much as a hair's breadth it will not turn, and has no partiality." A similar story is to be found in the Çatapatha Brahmana.[2]

The discovery of the Aramaic docket upon a cuneiform written tablet, giving the word *paras* as equivalent for a half-mina, renders the explanation given by M. Clermont-Ganneau of the simple meaning of the words perfectly natural, though it scarcely explains the duplication of the word *mane*, or mina. He would understand the sentence as "a mina, a shekel, and a half mina," and it is to be borne in mind that Theodotion's version reads, Μάνη Θεχέλ Φάρες. But the first word may have read Menah, Numbered, and so the common or ordinary signification of the words may be the version

[1] Like so many other Egyptian religious ideas, this puerile view of the solemn Psychostasia was in some form adopted by the mediaeval church, wherein the office of the Egyptian superintending deities was undertaken by St. Michael, a close connexion of St. George and the Dragon, who is none other than Horus and the Crocodile, of the long myth inscribed upon the Temple of Edfû, and of the Metternich Stele, see M. Moret's "Horus Sauveur," *Rev. de l'Hist. des Rel.*, 1915.

M. Paulin Paris relates a story in a manuscript, preserved in France, of a cleric who, after death, was accused of many crimes by some enemy, similar to the "Adversary of Job." So Michael had his soul placed in a balance before God, together with all his good deeds, whilst in the other end of the scale all the evils the foe had alleged were accumulated. Unfortunately the sins were far the heavier and hope fled, when the Virgin interfered and, placing all the Ave Marias the pious ecclesiastic had repeated in the balance with his inadequate good works, gained paradise for him. As Ave Marias can be procured by payment, the object of the story is pretty plain.

[2] See *Acts of Xth Oriental Congress*, Geneva, p. 65, *et seq.*

preferred by Dr. Haupt: "(There has been) counted a mina, a shekel, and a half mina."[1]

The plain interpretation of the words is quite distinct from their mystical meaning, which Daniel solely was competent to supply. The mental route by which he arrived at his rendering has given rise to much literature. Dr. Barton considers Daniel read the words as Babylonian ones, *Mani manū šiklu uparsi*, which, omitting one *mene*, would, in its shortest possible sense, run: "Number, weigh, divide," or Persian.[2]

For the final word Daniel utilises both its significations. *Manú* may have borne the sense of completion, of summing up of an enumeration, and thus Daniel uses that synonym for his version of the warning, if so the two *menes* are correct.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF PUBLICATIONS.

Two more volumes have been published by the Babylonian section of the University Museum, Pennsylvania University. Of these, Vol. VII, by Dr. Ungnad, contains "Babylonian Letters of the Ḫammurapi Period." These add to our knowledge of the conditions of the age of the great Ḫammurabi—or, as his name is now spelt, Ḫammurapi—the Babylonian monarch who is famous for the most ancient code of laws in the world, and who is commonly identified with the Amraphel of Gen. xiv. Dr. Ungnad gives translations of some of the letters, and calls attention to their value for the light they throw both on Babylonian philology and the general circumstances of the period—the prominent part taken by women being specially noticeable. Vol. X, No. 1, contains the "Sumerian Epic of Paradise, the Flood, and the Fall of Man," by Dr. Stephen Langdon, Reader of Assyriology, Oxford. In discussing these most interesting tablets (for a synopsis of which see the next paragraph) he observes that: "Beyond all doubt the Nippurian school of Sumerian theology originally regarded man as having been created from clay by the great mother-goddess." The

[1] See the weight in the British Museum inscribed פרשׁ, and Stanley Cook, *Aramaic Glossary*, 99.

[2] See *American Journal of Biblical Literature*, XVIII, 1898, p. 70.

priests of Eridu, on the other hand, had another doctrine of the Creation, and it becomes evident that different views prevailed, and were re-shaped under national and priestly influence. A curious point is the connexion between the Biblical Eve (*Hawwah*), whose name can be translated "serpent," and the serpent-character of the Babylonian mother-goddess. Moreover, "the type of mother-goddess, who became the special patron of child-birth, retains special connection with this Ophidian character" (p. 37). Dr. Langdon makes a very close investigation of the Biblical and Babylonian data, and is at pains to point out the evident desire of the writers to inculcate theological, religious, and ethical truths in the myths. This is often forgotten, and it is a timely reminder that the complete meaning of the old myths has not been found, though the more external aspects have been recognised, identified, and explained. Dr. Langdon remarks: "The tablet which forms the subject of this volume proves the profundity of their [*i.e.*, 'the theologians of Nippur'] thinking in the region of ethics and philosophy. We venture to think that no document has yet been recovered from the ruins of the past to which such a volume of influence can be traced [upon] our own civilization for the immense period of four thousand years. The great Hebrew documents which propound the harassing problem of the origin of human sorrows, would have been impossible without the pious and scholarly teaching of these pre-Semitic poets of Nippur. And we all realize, perhaps too little, the incalculable influence which these Hebrew masterpieces have exercised upon the ethical and religious mentality of a considerable portion of the human race."

Mr. Langdon is still continuing his studies of the Sumerian legend, and in the January number of the *Expository Times*, gives a corrected rendering of the Nippur tablets. He says: "Naturally, conservative scholars will be loath to accept an ancient source which so thoroughly defends the results of higher criticism on the Book of Genesis. The Nippurian poem places the Fall after the Flood, and thus agrees with the scheme of the Priestly document in Genesis. It follows an ancient Babylonian tradition which is based upon the belief that mankind lived in Paradise many millenniums before the Flood, a catastrophe sent by the gods to destroy mankind because they had become sinful. From this universal catastrophe the mother-goddess, who had in the beginning created men from clay, saved a certain Tagtug [the prototype of the Hebrew Noah]. He,

however, found the earth inhospitable, for Paradise had passed away and he was forced to toil, wherefore he became a gardener. He still possessed freedom from disease and extreme longevity, but he brought upon mankind bodily infirmity by eating from the cassia plant, thus disobeying the commandments of Enki, his god, commandments which had been communicated to him by the great mother-goddess. She thereupon curses this man and takes from him his ancient longevity. In sorrow for his hard lot the gods send eight divine patrons to aid mankind in pasturing his flocks, cultivating the vine, and regulating society."

In the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, Vol. XXXVII, Part 7, Prof. Sayce writes on Adam and Sargon in the Land of the Hittites. A tablet discovered early in 1914 by the German excavators at Tel el-Amarna, contains a legend of the celebrated Babylonian monarch Sargon of Akkad, describing his successful invasion of a distant country, separated from the rest of the world by a "barrier" of trackless rivers and mountains. This was the land of the Hittites in Eastern Asia Minor. One of the objects of the story was to give an account of the introduction of the vine from Armenia, etc., into Babylonia. The legend records that Sargon was not the first to traverse the road which took him beyond the ocean-barrier to the mountains of the north; he had been preceded by "Adamu," the hero whose name is otherwise read Adapa. "Adamu was according to one story the first man, and he had brought death into the world. It is evident that he is the Biblical Adam, but in the Babylonian legend he seems to be confounded with Noah, who brought the vine from the Armenian highlands, and was the first to make wine." In Vol. XXXVIII, Part 1, Prof. Sayce suggests that the "Land of Nod" (Gen. iv, 16) is to be identified with Nidu, *i.e.*, Dilmun, on the shore of the Persian Gulf to the south-east of the "Edin" or "plain" of Babylonia. Now, Cain protests that he is being driven from the *ădāmāh*, "the soil" of Eden or Babylonia, and would become "a fugitive and a vagabond." But, on the contrary, he built a city and one of his descendants was an artificer in bronze and iron. Hence Prof. Sayce conjectures that the Hebrew words (*nā' wānād*) represent an original Assyrian *nu'u ū nidu*, meaning "a weakling and a castaway." He goes on to discuss various points in the account of the site of the garden of Eden and in the genealogy of Cain.

Dr. Alan H. Gardiner writes (Vol. XXXVII, 7, and Vol. XXXVIII, 2) on "Some Personifications," a subject of considerable interest for the development of early religious thought. It seems that the Egyptian *Hike'*, which means "magical arts," "mysterious ways of achieving things," actually becomes deified: the god *Hike'* is simply a personification of the word "magic." He publishes a hitherto unedited funerary text of the Middle Kingdom, the purpose of which was to enable a dead man to assume the form of this god. "That magic should have been regarded as the attribute of a deity and *a fortiori* as itself a deity, destroys at one blow the theories of those who discern a fundamental distinction between what is religious and what is magical. The Egyptians themselves looked upon magic as that mysterious power which deep knowledge and learning could implant either in gods or in men; and since there was a strong tendency to construe all power as the effort of some sentient being, it is natural that *hike'* when considered alone and apart from any person who might chance to possess it, should have been externalized in the form of a separate personality. It remains only to explain why that personality should have been considered of a divine, and not of a human kind; this is due simply to the fact that the gods, in the eyes of the Egyptians, were merely beings like themselves in nature but differing through their majesty and power, qualities directly correlated with their remoteness and intangibility."

In Vol. XXXVIII, Part II, Dr. Gardiner proceeds to show that not only was *Hike'* an attribute of the Sun-god, *Re'*, created by him to be the instrument of his omnipotent will, but there were two other similar deities: *Hu*, "authoritative utterance," and *Sia'*, "understanding," who were also associated with *Re'*. Wherever, in fact, *Hu* and *Sia'* appear as attributes of kingship, it is by virtue of the old legend which tells how *Re'* on emerging from the Nun [or primordial waters], invented "utterance" and "understanding" to aid him in his creation and governance of the world.

An article on "Pygmy-legends in Jewish Literature," by Dr. Solomon Hurwitz of New York (published in the *Jewish Quarterly Review*, Jan., 1916), touches upon some of the facts of Palestinian excavation. Pygmy-races are still to be found: the skeletal remains of earlier periods of civilization seem to show that such races existed in various parts of Europe during neolithic times;

and finally a still greater amount of evidence lies embedded in the literary deposits of former generations in the form of myth, legend, fairy-tale, and folk-lore. The paper treats the subject under three headings: (*a*) The legend about the Gammādim and the pygmy-race of the Caphtōrim; (*b*) Legends about individuals of dwarfed stature; and (*c*) Greek legends in Rabbinic literature. Of these the first alone concerns us. The notion that the Biblical writers knew of the existence of a race of pygmies rests upon an old interpretation of the word Gammādim in Ezek. xxvii, 11, the assumption being that it is connected with a root "to contract, curtail," or (on another view) with the noun *gōmed*, "a cubit." Tradition, moreover, identified the Gammādim with the Cappadocians, with whom in turn the Caphtorim were commonly equated. The old Midrash *Genesis Rabba*, xxxvii, 5, commenting on Gen. x, 14, would seem to regard the Pathrusim and Casluhim as two bodies, of pirates and pygmies respectively, who stole one another's wives, with the result that there arose the Philistines and Caphtorim, who are respectively giants and dwarfs! What lies underneath these fancies? Apparently the attempt to reconcile two conflicting traditions transmitted from remote antiquity concerning the Philistines—the one that they belonged to a giant race (*cf.* the story of Goliath), and the other of a race of pygmies, known as Caphtorim, also said to be the progenitors of the Philistines. Dr. Hurwitz points out that "the problem of the tall non-Semitic autochthons of Palestine has, to a large extent, been solved by the late archaeological excavations which have brought to light traces of tall non-Semitic races in various parts of Palestine in prehistoric periods of human culture." As for the pygmy race of Rabbinic tradition, the author feels himself at a loss, and can only suggest the evidence furnished by the remains of the curious non-Semitic race of troglodytes who appear to have lived in Gezer in neolithic times (about 2500 B.C.), and who, though not dwarfs, were, considerably below the average stature. The suggestion has difficulties (pointed out in a letter from Prof. R. A. S. Macalister himself, *ib.*, p. 349, note 38), but Dr. Hurwitz urges the view that the later Caphtorim settled over the very graves of the former troglodytes, and "it is not altogether unlikely that stories of the large discrepancies in the height of several autochthonous races a fact very striking to the primitive mind—should cling to the localities wherein these indigenous races originally dwelt, long after their extinction." In this way, then, we may explain the

appearance of giants and dwarfs in connexion with Philistine aborigines in the folk-lore of the early Hebrews.

In the *American Journal of Archaeology*, Vol. XIX, No. 3, Mr. S. B. Murray, Junr., discusses the date of the great temple of Baal at Palmyra. He finds that there are four periods of architectural activity. To the first, not later than the end of the first century B.C., belong the temple cella and peristyle. Second, not later than 21 A.D., the rearrangement of the cella, addition of door in peristyle, and the building of the peribolas. Third, perhaps 174 A.D., the rebuilding of the west wall of the peribolos. To this, or perhaps to a fourth period under Aurelian, belong the exedrae in the temple cella. The latter are the only remains that can be assigned to this last period. Aurelian's letter to Bassus expressly states what he desired, "*templum—ad eam formam—quae fuit, reddi.*" Such repairs as he made then must have consisted chiefly in setting up what had been thrown down in the sack of the city. Mr. Murray's argument is that the peribolos was erected most probably at the time when the change in the temple cella was made, and a door placed between two columns of the peristyle; and special emphasis is laid upon the mouldings of the door: "The jambs, beginning on the inside, are decorated with three fasciae, each bordered by a fillet. The inner fascia is carved with a continuous laurel or olive leaf ornament, the next with a grape-vine, a large leaf alternating with a huge bunch of grapes. The third has branches of a plant not easily identified. Outside of these comes first a cyma recta with the leaf and dart, then an egg and dart on an ovolo, and, finally, an anthemion on a cavetto. Now, such a combination of Greek and oriental *motifs* is characteristic of only one architectural period in Syria: the period in which were built the temples at Suwēda and those of Ba'al Samīn and Dūsharā at Sī'. These are examples from the Haurān, it is true, but it must not be forgotten that after 85 B.C., when the Nabataeans defeated Antiochus XII, they took possession of Damascus and Coele-Syria. Now Palmyra is equally distant from Antioch and from the Hauran, it is therefore not surprising to find traces of this Southern influence at this time in the midst of all that the city must have drawn from the Syrian capital. The great door of the Dūsharā temple at Sī'—almost purely oriental in its ornament—has just such naturalistic forms as this peristyle door of the temple of Ba'al. On the archivolt above the door occurs much the same

grape-vine *motif*, and this is found again on the inner jamb of the door of the temple of Baal Samīn at Sī'." All this, as Mr. Murray points out, tends to confirm his theory that the alterations of the cella of the temple of Ba'al took place at the same time as the building of the peribolos, that is, about the beginning of the first century A.D.

Of special interest for the earlier archaeological periods is an article in the same journal by L. D. Caskey on "A chryselephantine Statuette of the Cretan Snake-goddess." It is carved in ivory, richly decorated with gold, and stands about 6½ inches in height; it is in the characteristic style, the goddess wearing the usual elaborate headdress, tight-fitting jacket cut very low, and a full skirt with five pleated flounces. In each hand she grasps a gold snake. Like other Cretan ivory figures, the statuette is a wonderfully vigorous example of ancient art; the delicate carving is of the finest, and the effect is most realistic. The date probably falls within the limits of the sixteenth and fifteenth centuries B.C. It is disputed whether, after all, the object—and others like it—have any religious significance. Dr. Thiersch, for example, proposed to call them snake charmers, introduced into Crete from Egypt, and to be placed on a par with the acrobats, male and female, who performed feats with wild bulls for the entertainment of Minoan lords and ladies. The connection of snakes with the cult of the Minoan goddess is abundantly proved by Cretan discoveries. The rude, half aniconic image of a goddess rising from a cylindrical base, found at Prinias, and the similar idol discovered in the shrine at Gournia, have snakes twined about them. The evidence in general points to a religious interpretation. If some are purely human, "they are perhaps best regarded as priestesses who performed magical rites with snakes in honour of the deity, and this chryselephantine statuette, which is by far the best of the series, has the best claim to be regarded as a representation of the central figure of the cult."

Another article in the *American Journal of Archaeology* should be noticed for its bearing on the geometrical patterns in old Palestinian pottery. Two colossal Athenian geometric or "Dipylon" vases are described and discussed by Miss Gisela M. A. Richter; they are probably of the eighth century B.C., and the endeavour is made to distinguish the designs which the artist invented and those which were adopted from his predecessors. As regards the *origin*

of these designs: "It has always been felt that the geometric style cannot be satisfactorily explained as a logical development out of Minoan or Mycenaean art . . . they are too different in essentials for one to be derived directly from the other. The theory that the Dorians brought the geometric style with them from their northern habitations has been mostly given up, the other explanation being now generally accepted, that the post-Mycenaean geometric style is a continuation of the primitive pre-Mycenaean geometric technique, which, though temporarily swamped by the superior Minoan and Mycenaean art, never wholly disappeared, but went on concurrently as a 'peasant style.' Viewed as a development of the primitive geometric art under the influence of Mycenaean art, from which it borrowed, among other things, its superior technique, the Dipylon style becomes perfectly comprehensible." In an analysis of the ornaments it is shown that, "many of the motives used by the post-Mycenaean geometric artist were already in use in primitive geometric times. Of these some can be found also in Mycenaean pottery, while others were not employed by the Mycenaeans, but came to light again in the later geometric art. On the other hand, some motives employed by the post-Mycenaean geometric artist are taken directly from Mycenaean art, and have no previous geometric history." For example, the Swastika used in the primitive geometric art, but not in Mycenaean times, now reappears, while the meander comes in as a novelty, and continues its great popularity during classical times. "The employment of birds and ibexes merely as ornaments, with no reference to the scenes in which they are placed, is also peculiar to the Dipylon style. In Minoan and Mycenaean art, birds and ibexes of course occur, but they are there drawn much more naturalistically, and are not reduced to mere decorative ornaments." Though many of the ornaments, taken singly, can be traced back to early times, "the systematizing of such ornaments into elaborate designs and the evolution thereby of a new distinctive style was, of course, entirely new." Though the same ornaments are again and again repeated, the artist shows great ingenuity in the almost infinite combinations he devised. "His chief fault was his strongly developed *horror vacui* which made him overcrowd his surfaces with irrelevant material, and thus present a confused picture." His treatment of the figured scenes is obviously crude, but the introduction on these vases of the representation of human beings is of importance to the

history of Greek pottery; for, once introduced, they occupied more and more the attention of Greek painters.

Here it is not out of place to point out the general value of the principles of archaeological investigation for other questions where the interpretation of evidence is involved. Two different strata or periods of archaeology may have various distinctive points of contact,—*e.g.*, in the preceding case, the use of geometrical patterns—but there will be differences, equally obvious, due partly to the fact that the circumstances and conditions will be different. We can find the same process in the history of languages. There will be certain features and developments which will find a very close parallel in other periods, such that, although we are dealing with different languages or dialects, there are some very significant resemblances or parallels. Some good examples of this can be seen in the lengthy history of the Semitic languages, where certain dialectical vicissitudes correspond exactly to the sort of vicissitudes which must have occurred—and in some cases clearly did occur—in the earliest stages of the history of this branch. If we try and express the processes by means of symbols, we may say that there can be similar features and developments, *A*, *B*, *C*, etc., and *a*, *b*, *c*, etc., such that each pair, *A* and *a*, etc., have points of resemblance, and the general development *A*, *B*, *C*, etc., is analogous to *a*, *b*, *c*; but there will be at the same time very obvious differences, due to the fact that *A* and *a* belong to independent conditions, and that the latter may well be influenced by intervening conditions, *e.g.*, *D*, *E*, *F*, etc. So it is that classical Arabic approximately represents the old primitive Semitic ancestor, although in itself it is far more complex and rich than the postulated ancestor, and is obviously influenced by earlier historical conditions. In the same way, the conditions of any rudimentary or simple society of to-day will be simpler, and sociologically earlier, than those of an earlier though more advanced community; just as the Old Babylonian Code of Hammurapi (*c.* 2100 B.C.) is more "advanced" than the Mosaic, owing to the different sociological conditions. Bearing this in mind, then, we see that an example of some simple, rudimentary or elementary feature does not *in itself and by itself* prove an early date; everything will depend on the surrounding conditions—the "context"—the circumstances which allow us to distinguish more carefully the "early" in an early context from the "primitive" analogue in an advanced context. Thus archaeology brings to light important

principles which are of great significance for other departments; and although the argument may strike the reader as being rather pedantic and academical, it seemed necessary to outline it because it bears upon so many controversial questions.

It does not follow that any piece of geometrical pattern *must* belong to some one particular period; and in the same way, it does not follow that because, let us say, some chapters in Genesis represent a simple life that they *must* belong to a pre-Mosaic age. In each case it is unsafe to rely upon any single or isolated datum. It is also useful to observe the interesting fact that the Greek artist of the "Dipylon style" was apparently "going back" to the past! On the other hand, his art stands at the head of a long line of representations in Greek ceramics. To some of his contemporaries, the geometric style might have seemed a retrograde step: was he not going back to that beyond which art had already evolved? was he not "putting the clock back?"—and so forth. The moral is obvious. The appearance of any tendency or feature which has apparent or evident parallels in some past age will always seem to suggest a return to that age. But this does not necessarily follow. A "reversion" may be simply a "re-assertion." Time and fuller examination alone will show. At all events, archaeology teaches us this lesson, that all our data or phenomena need clear and careful analysis, lest we judge them in the light of other phenomena with which they share only some one—perhaps accidental or unessential—feature. Other interesting points are raised by a consideration of the principles of archaeological research; but the above is enough to show, first, how easily we can be misled by facile theories of development or evolution; and, secondly, how readily we estimate whole phenomena on the basis of some particular constituent element which happens to reappear, or which finds some parallel in some other context with which we are familiar.

S. A. C.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

Shishak: Land Palestine History.—M. Henri Gauthier, the author of the very valuable and complete *Livre des Rois d'Égypte*, has contributed to the eleventh volume of the *Bulletin* of the French Institute at Cairo an article on "Les Rois Chéchanq." After a careful study of the rather confusing throne-names, he comes to the conclusion that the recent revisions are untenable, and that we must return to the old view of four Shashanks, though with a somewhat different arrangement.

Apart from the more technical problems of the Egyptologist, the chief interest of these kings centres in Shashank I (the Biblical Shishak), the founder of the XXIInd dynasty. We learn from 1 Kings xi, 40, that when Solomon sought to slay Jeroboam, the latter fled to Shishak and remained with him until Solomon's death. When Rehoboam succeeded, Jeroboam returned and became king of the revolted northern tribes. Later on, according to the account in 1 Kings xiv, 25–28, Shishak invaded Judah and carried off the treasures of Jerusalem. There can be no doubt that this is the campaign which is commemorated at Karnak, Shishak being represented as leading captive a large number of cities. A difficulty, however, has arisen in comparing the Hebrew and Egyptian evidence, since the account in Kings says nothing of an attack on the northern kingdom, which there would appear to be no motive for suppressing if it really occurred, while in Shishak's record northern and southern names are found together indiscriminately. It has been argued that the account in Kings must be incomplete, and that the campaign must have been directed equally against Israel and Judah. An explanation has, however, been put forward by W. Max Müller which seems to dispose of the difficulty. What an oriental monarch was chiefly concerned about when he went on a foreign expedition was to secure tribute; if he could get it without fighting, so much the better: "The tribute, which the Pharaoh claimed everywhere, was promptly given by Jeroboam, who owed his throne to Egypt; in Judah it had to be exacted by force."

The Karnak list of cities will always be remembered in connection with an unfortunate error of Champollion, who translated one of the names as "roi de Juda," and this explanation, says Max Müller, "has become as popular as most flagrant errors." It figures indeed in books professing a scholarly character as late as the eighties of the last century. The hieroglyphs in question read Iudhamâlk, and it is quite impossible that they should mean either "king of Judah" or "kingdom of Judah." Max Müller rather doubtfully suggests *Yod-ha-melech*, "hand of the king," as the name of a town.

F. W. Read.

TRANSLITERATION OF HEBREW AND ARABIC CONSONANTS.

HEBREW.

Hebrew.	English.	Hebrew.	English.
א	’	כ ך	kh
ב	b	ל	l
ב	bh	מ ם	m
ג	g	נ ן	n
ג	gh	ס	s
ד	d	ע	‘
ד	dh	פ ף	p
ה	h	פ	f
ו	v, w	צ ץ	z
ז	z	ק	k
ח	h	ר	r
ט	t	שׁ	sh
י	y	שׂ	s
כ	k	ת	t
		ת	th

ARABIC.

Arabic.	English.		Arabic.	English.
ا	’		ض	d
ب	b		ط	t
ت	t		ظ	tz
ث	th		ع	‘
ج	g	or j in Syrian Arabic.	غ	gh
ح	h		ف	f
خ	kh		ق	k
د	d		ك	k
ذ	dh		ل	l
ر	r		م	m
ز	z		ن	n
س	s		ه	h
ش	sh		و	w
ظ	z		ي	y

Long vowels marked thus :—ā, ē, ī, ō, ū.

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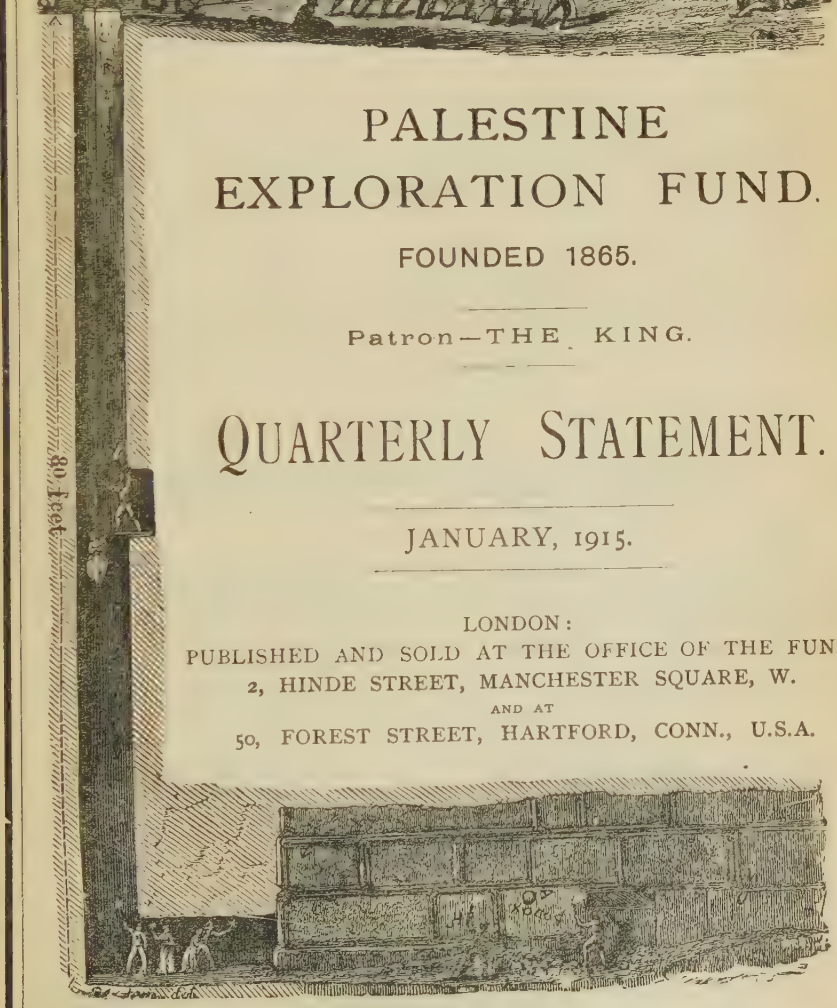

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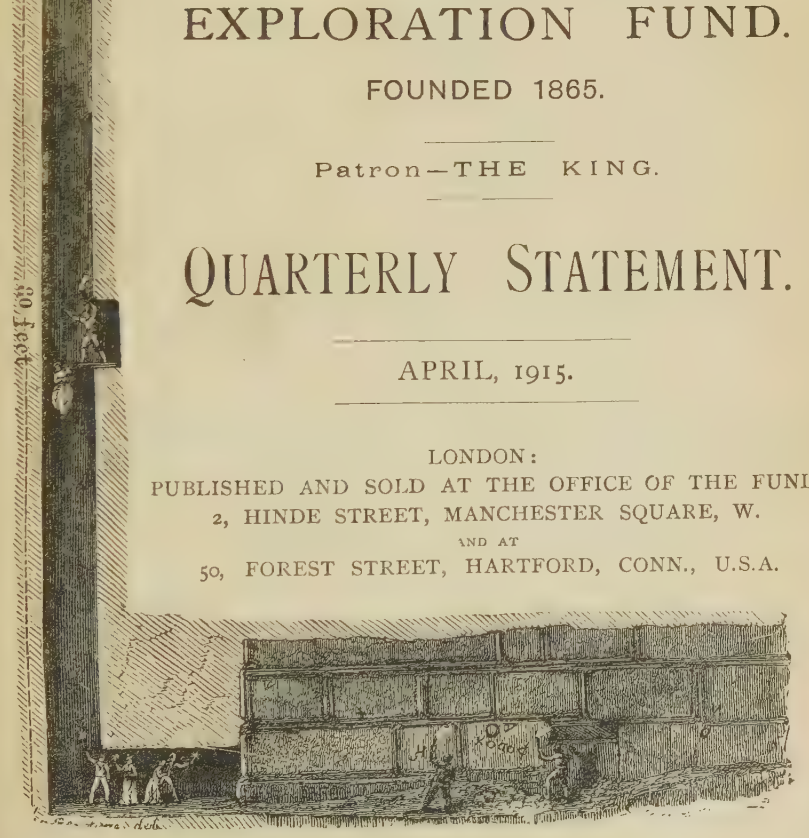

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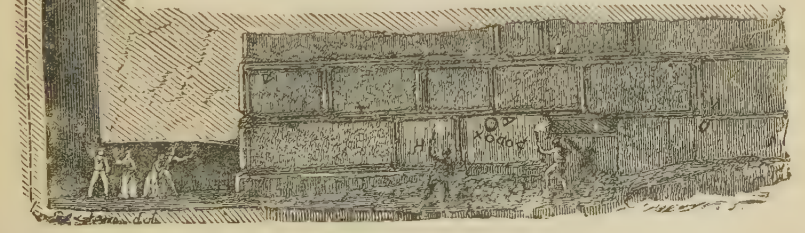

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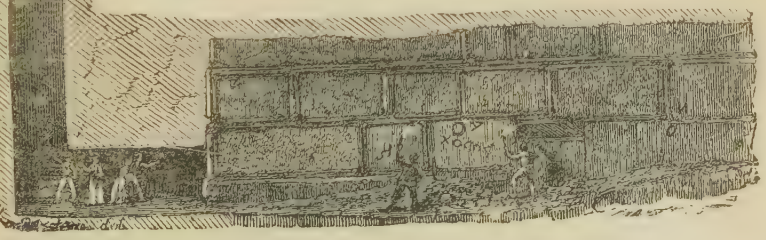

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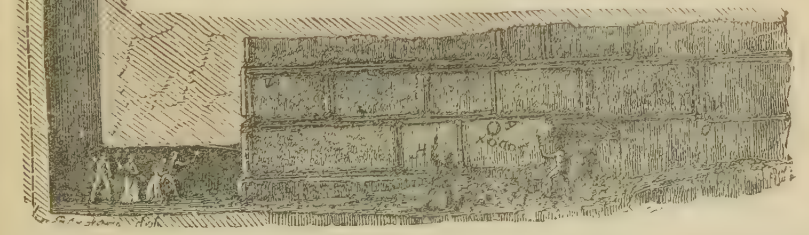

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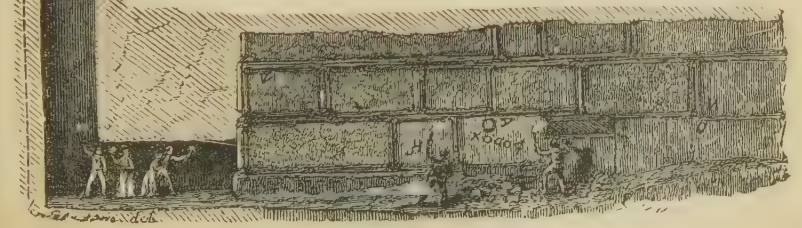

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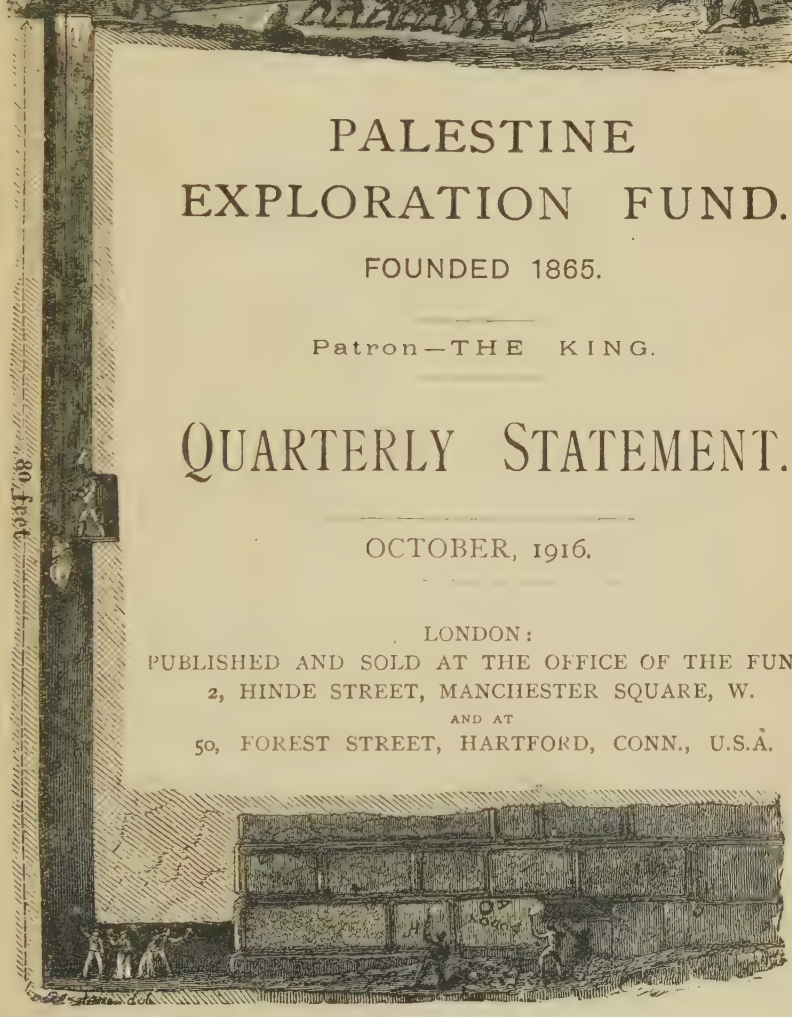

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